

*The Korean people will not forget
the day when they showed their
loyalty to the United States by
celebrating the Day of Hope.*

K O R E A N

"DAY OF HOPE"

FLAG DAY

CEREMONIES

★

SPONSORED IN LOS ANGELES

BY

UNITED KOREAN COMMITTEE

IN AMERICA

★

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29th, 1942

Program



LUNCHEON 12:30 P.M.

The United Korean Committee in America is honored to have among its luncheon guests on this occasion, the following:

Mayor Fletcher Bawran

Admiral Albert Ware Marshall

Lieut. Col. Henry Beal

Han. T. K. Chang, Chinese Consul

Supervisor Jahn Ansan Fard

Sheriff Eugene Biscailuz

Dr. Adrian Hartog, Netherlands
Consul

Mr. Carlton B. Tibbetts

Mrs. Willoughby Rodman

Dean Mary S. Crawford

Prof. Malbane Graham

Mr. Frank Peterson

Nicalas Buenaventura

Mr. Henry Chung

Mr. Ilhan New



Luncheon held at Joy Yuen Low Restaurant
New Chinatown



PARADE 2:00 P.M.

Admiral Albert Ware Marshall, Parade Marshall

Captain Arthur Y. Kim and Lt. Leland Weeks, aides

Parade Route—East on 6th Street to Spring, north on
Spring Street to the City Hall steps.

Program



PATRIOTIC EXERCISES.....2:30 P.M.

Program held on the steps of the City Hall. Broadcast by U.S. Government to Korea, China, and Japan, in the English, Korean and Chinese languages. Broadcast locally by stations KFI and KPAS. Rebroadcast at 9:30 p.m. tonight by KFI.

- a) Raising of the Korean Flag on the City Hall flagpole. Playing of the national anthems of the United States and Korea, by the United States Army Band. Frank Lee, baritone, soloist.
- b) Presentation of a Korean Flag to the City of Los Angeles, by Captain Arthur Y. S. Kim, of the California Korean Reserves, on behalf of the United Korean Committee in America.
- c) Acceptance speech on behalf of the City by the Honorable Fletcher Bowron, Mayor of Los Angeles.
- d) "God Bless America", sung by Frank Lee and the Korean Victory Chorus.
- e) A message from the Korean Provisional Government at Chungking, China.
A message from the Korean Commission at Washington, D. C.
A message from His Excellency, Culbert L. Olson, Governor of California. Read by Philip Ahn.
- f) Addresses by—
Admiral Albert Wore Marshall.
Lieutenant Colonel Henry E. Beol (representing General Maxwell Murray).
Mr. Carlton B. Tibbetts, President of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.
- g) Selection by Frank Lee, baritone.
- h) Address by Youngjeung Kim, Director of Public Relations for the United Korean Committee in America.
- i) Selection by the Korean Victory Chorus. At its conclusion, the Chorus leads the audience in singing "America", the United States Army Band accompanying.

WHY AUGUST 29th?

Ever since the year 1910, August 29th has been observed by Kareans as a day of humiliation. It was on that date that the Japanese forcibly seized Korea and told them that they were to share in the 'ca-prasperity' which the Japanese were to bring to Asia as they expanded their empire. The Kareans have been virtual prisanners of the Japanese for 32 years. Kareans today are in desperate straits as a result of the economic strangulation which has been imposed upon them by the Japanese.

This year, 1942, Kareans are **not** observing August 29th as a day of humiliation. They are observing it as a day of HOPE. Why? Because of the great American victories at Midway Island, the Coral Sea and the Salamans for one thing. And because of the promise of freedom for the Korean people which is so clearly indicated in the Atlantic Charter and in the "four freedoms" enunciated by President Raasevelt and Mr. Churchill.

A victorious peace and a free Korea are just over the horizon. Kareans are fighting with the brave Chinese, shoulder to shoulder, to hasten the coming of that day.

These are the things signified for Kareans by the date, August 29th.

YONGJEUNG KIM, Director Public Relations

UNITED KOREAN COMMITTEE IN AMERICA

C. HO KIM, Executive Chairman

P. Y. KIM, Vice Chairman

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

C. I. Song, Arthur Y. S. Kim, Leo C. Song, H. J. Song, C. L. Kim, Yangjeung Kim, Ben Limb, S. D. Hahn, Rev. S. L. Kim.

HEADQUARTERS:

1368 West Jefferson Street

Phone REpublic 0424

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

B. RITONE

FRANK LEE

RECITAL

PROGRAM

Assisted

by Linda Herr
Sarah Yoon
Victory OGLE

* * * *

SATURDAY EVENING

August 29th, 1948
8:30 P.M.

- * -

At the Korean Presbyterian Church
1374 W. Jefferson Blvd.,
Los Angeles, Calif.

* PROGRAM *

- a) Star Spangled Banner J. S. Smith
b) Korean National Anthem L. T. Ahn
c) Hail America D. Brown
By Victory Choir
- a) As Ever I Saw F. Warlock
b) I Heard A Forest Praying F. De Rose
c) Down To De Rivah R. MacGinsey
d) Toreador Song G. Bizet
By FRANK LEE
- a) Serenade F. Schubert
b) It was a Violet W. A. Mozart
c) One Fine Day G. Puccini
By LINDA HERR
- a) 5th Nocturne J. S. Bach
b) Polichinelle S. Rachmaninoff
By SARAH YOON
- a) Ashamed K. V. Ahn
b) Dang Dal Gu Song T. Kim
c) To My Sister T. Park
d) Boat Song T. Kim
e) Monk Song T. Park
by Frank Lee
- DUET from Pagliacci Leoncavallo
by Linda Herr
Frank Lee
- Hoo Goong Aha Donizetti
by Victory Choir

* FINE *

— 순 시 —

- 가. 미국 국가 - - - - - 스미트
- 나. 애국가 - - - - - 안익태
- 다. 만세! 미국 - - - - - 트럼

빅토리 합창대

- 가. 내가 본 여자 - - - - - 와릭
- 나. 내가 드른산림의 기도 - - - - - 티로스
- 다. 흑인의 노래 - - - - - 맥킨시
- 리. 투우사의 노래 - - - - - 베제

리용준

- 가. 스야곡 - - - - - 쉼벌도
- 나. 향미각 - - - - - 모차르
- 다. 좋은 밤 - - - - - 무지너

헤린다

- 가. 제5야곡 - - - - - 레이바하
- 나. 푸리시에널 - - - - - 카르미슈푸

윤새리

- 가. 붓그러움 - - - - - 안기영
- 나. 당달구 - - - - - 김동진
- 다. 도라간다 - - - - - 박태준
- 리. 과노래 - - - - - 김동진
- 미. 중수대수중 - - - - - 박채준

리용준

도화사의 이종창 - - - 레온카발로
 헤린다
 리용준

무궁화 - - - - - 도나제트

빅토리 합창단

바리톤

리
웅
주
목
창
회
소
서

時日、一九四二年八月二十九日
場所、라성현안간노교회당
오후 팔시 반

찬조출연

쓰푸라도

허린다양

리아노

윤새와양

함창

빅토리합창단

"Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit saith the Lord."



Korean Presbyterian Church

1374 West Jefferson Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

SHUNGNAK LUKE KIM, Ph.D., Th.D., Pastor
Residence—1372 W. Jefferson Blvd.
Telephone ROchester 6226

MINISTRY OF MUSIC

Frank Yongjun Lee.....	Director of Choir
Miss Sarah Yoon.....	Organist
Miss Linda Herr.....	Ass't. Organist
Miss Marian Chun.....	Pianist

Thou art welcome, whosoever thou art that enterest this Church; it is thy Father's house; come in the spirit of reverence; worship in the spirit of humility; and leave it not without a prayer to God for thyself; for those who minister, and for those who worship here.

SUNDAY MORNING WORSHIP SERVICE
Eleven o'clock, Aug. 30, 1942

Organ Prelude - 10:55 Selected
Call to Worship
 "The Lord is in His holy Temple", Root
Doxology No. 1
Invocation
 Choral response
The Creed
Gloria Patri No. 400
Scripture Reading
 1 John 4:7- 21
Anthem, God so Loved the World
Invitation to Prayer
Morning Prayer
Offering
Solo "No. 237" by Mrs. J. Joe
Hymn,
Sermon, GOD IS LOVE
 by the Rev. Shungnak Kim
Prayer and Benediction
 Choral Response
Organ Postlude

Daily Bible Readings

Aug. 31 - Warning against laziness
 Prov. 24:33-34
Sept. 1, Supreme labor
 John 6: 27
 2- Wise occupation
 Matt. 7:24-25
 3 - Sojourn in fear
 1 Peter 1:17
 4 - Sowing and reaping
 Gal. 6:7-8.
 5 - Careful use of time
 Eph. 5: 15-17

說教神拜會 순서

一九四二八月三十一日

오전 十時

개회주악

찬사라야

레백(찬양)

성가

찬영

의

기도

의

제두(사드신경)

의

찬영

의

성경광도기

오일, 四〇七二七

개도광

神이 모든을愛성가대

봉헌

의

독창

조조세

찬송

의

설교

하나님은 사랑

기도

김성락 박사

찬양(송영)

성가

폐회주악

廣 告

(제스권 三十五)

△ 주 서

전공성군 九월은 초二일(비출병) 화개됩니다.

간오한군은 분월二十八일에 은(비) 하(비) 모두 하입니다.

△ 광고

다음 주일은 귀동수일입니다. 따라서 주기 첫 주일입니다. 금년 브러 새로히 힘쓰시게 됩니다. 바랍니 다.

심방 하난 달은 九월 노정 하였습니다. 시작은 九월 二十七일 브러 하였습니다.

래지던로 사역자 회가 九월 十호일 브러 十七일 까지 하였습니다.

"Korean Independence"—Its Role and Aims for Korea

(Continued from page 1)

ment of the political and social changes and trends; therefore, it contains analytical and interpretative articles more than unconnected news items. The record of its political struggle since its publication can be classified into three different stages.

THE FIRST STAGE

It marks the period of our emancipation movement from the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 up to the birth of KOREAN INDEPENDENCE and after. During this period KOREAN INDEPENDENCE set up the Freedoms of Thought and Speech as a revolutionary principle of our Korean society in this country in its endeavor to enable the entire Korean community to participate, not only directly but consciously, in our emancipation movement. Therefore, what KOREAN INDEPENDENCE advocated during this particular stage was the rejection of a blind independence movement and reactionary leaders. At the same time, it endeavored to spread to the people our revolutionary consciousness by attacking the reactionary expressions and acts among the leaders of our independence movement abroad.

THE SECOND STAGE

This stage marks a period during which time KOREAN INDEPENDENCE, in anticipation of the post-war political trends which would invade the liberated Korea, waged a vigorous fight against the reactionary Korean forces not only in the United States, but in China as well. At that time the Korean reactionary forces in the United States and China adhered to their blind faith that Korea's independence could be brought about by means of diplomacy. Their faith was so idiotically blind that during the war they squandered a vast amount of money raised from among the patriotic, hard-working Koreans in frequenting Washington and entertaining the low-ranking American officials with Chop-suey under the pretext of the so-called "diplomacy." On the other hand, however, the progressive Koreans and KOREAN INDEPENDENCE advocated incessantly that Korea's emancipation and independence could be hastened only by the blood, sweat and tears of the Koreans themselves and not the Chop-suey parties in honor of the low-ranking American officials. On the basis of this conviction they launched a campaign for a Korean military contribution to the United Nations war efforts, though it is a fact this campaign didn't bring about its desired results, either.

In this connection it must be remembered it was at this stage that KOREAN INDEPENDENCE vigorously challenged that dangerous phrase "IN DUE COURSE" which was contained in the Cairo Declaration regarding Korea. At the same time, it bitterly attacked those reactionary Korean leaders in this country who not only supported this dangerous phrase, but also who went so far as to advocate that Korea following her liberation be occupied solely by the American occupation forces. The reactionary Korean clique in China conspired to pawn to China Korea's diplomatic rights following her liberation so as to make Korea China's slave, while the vicious reactionary Korean clique in the United States plotted to enslave Korea to American imperialism following her liberation. This fact can amply be proven by the prevailing political phenomenon in Southern Korea under the American Military Government.

Had the entire part of Korea been occupied solely by the U. S. forces as advocated by the reactionary and traitorous Korean political leaders, it is by no means beyond imagination that Korea would have presented a phenomenon which is tyrannical — politically, economically and socially — many hundred times worse than what the Korean people are witnessing in Southern Korea today. Frankly speaking, had Korea been under the exclusive occupation of U. S. forces, the fate of Korea would have repeated that of the Filipinos who are, outwardly, an independent nation, but

whose country is, in reality, an American colony. And had the American Military Government been the supreme ruler of the so-called liberated thirty million Korean people, there is no doubt that the Korean reactionary forces — including the pro-Japanese collaborators and national traitors — would have committed traitorous crimes by plunging into mutual slaughters between Koreans — far worse than those traitorous crimes they are committing in Southern Korea under the aegis of the American Military Government.

That American imperialism is attempting to colonize Korea economically, is neither an exaggeration nor a groundless conjecture, for it can be proven by America's international deeds. Look, for example, at America's intervention in China's internal affairs. Look at MacArthur's insidious policies under which the Japanese toiling masses are being suppressed while the Japanese reactionary forces, the potential running hounds of American imperialism, are being nurtured with the greatest care. And listed to jargons of American imperialists call the Pacific Ocean as "America's Lake" and insist upon converting all the Pacific islands into American permanent possessions. Don't all these facts clearly tell us that American imperialistic policy plotted to convert Korea into an American colony?

THE THIRD STAGE

I. Hardly had our fatherland been liberated from her 36-year-old slavery to Japanese imperialism than the reactionary Korean political leaders both in the United States and China lost no time in returning home. In consideration of their past record, however, that during their life of exile they were engaged in selfish political games at the expense of their faithful followers, KOREAN INDEPENDENCE predicted that their return home would prove to be harmful to the welfare of the Korean people at home because of their political activities — destructive rather than constructive. This prediction has come out true.

The return home of these vicious reactionary elements helped strengthen the fight of KOREAN INDEPENDENCE against the evil of reaction at home which under the aegis of the American Military Government is mercilessly massacring, arresting, imprisoning, torturing and starving to death the democratic Korean patriots. As a matter of fact, deep concern about the misfortune of our Korean compatriots and resentment of AMG's tyranny against the Korean democratic forces by utilizing the Korean quislings prompted KOREAN INDEPENDENCE to criticize, resist and attack undauntedly AMG's imperialistic policies against the common welfare of the Korean people. The source of KOREAN INDEPENDENCE's courage is, needless to say, the Korean toiling masses at home who are shedding blood and sacrificing their lives fighting for the cause of Korea's democratic freedom and independence.

KOREAN INDEPENDENCE has attacked AMG's anti-democratic policies as well as traitorous acts of the pro-Japanese collaborators, national traitors and profascist elements under the AMG's blessing — so candidly and bitterly that it is branded by some of its readers both Korean and American as a "communist" paper. However, it has courage to brush off all hostile criticisms from its readers and enemies as it determinedly fights on toward its ultimate goal; this courage emanates from those democratic Korean patriots at home who are fearlessly waging a fight against the evil forces of reaction, as well as from those Korean young men and women who have sacrificed their lives during their common fight for the cause of Korea's democratic independence.

II. The fundamental objective of KOREAN INDEPENDENCE is a contribution to the democratic emancipation of the Korean people from imperialism and to the construction of a democratic independent state. Therefore, KOREAN INDEPENDENCE has spared no effort in supporting and encour-

aging any individuals, political parties and social organizations advocating this objective and courageously fighting for it. This is why KOREAN INDEPENDENCE has left no stone unturned in conveying not only to the Koreans in this country but also to the American people the true democratic voice and the unique national spirit of the Korean people inside of Korea, for free thoughts are arising from the hearts of the Korean people like the flames. And this is why KOREAN INDEPENDENCE has vigorously been championing the cause of the Korean Democratic National Front — a crystallization of the Korean democratic forces in Southern Korea as a compass for the stormy political voyage of the Korean people. It embraces: the Korean Communist party, the Korean People's party, the Southern Korea New Democratic party, the Korean Federation of Trade Unions, the All-Korea Peasants' Federation, young men's organizations, the All-Korea Women's League, the Korea Federation of Cultural Organizations, and various other social organizations. Its supreme goal is the earliest realization of Korea's democratic emancipation and independence.

As the spokesman of the Korean democratic forces in Southern Korea it is true the Korean Democratic National Front has been most critical of AMG's anti-democratic administration and traitorous acts of the vicious reactionaries, for every statement issued by it, particularly by the Korean Communist Party, vividly and faithfully reflects grievances and wrath of the Korean people, as well as their true desire for a democratic new Korea.

Talking about the Korean Communists no one can disregard a vital role played by them for the Korean emancipation movement, for it was only these fearless patriots who during the Japanese regime most heroically fought the tyranny of Japanese imperialism at the sacrifice of their lives. The blood-stained record of their anti-Japanese resistance movement is beyond description, indeed. In fact, Mr. Lyuh Woon Hyung, one of the chairmen of the Korean Democratic National Front and chairman of the Korean People's Party, once said that the task of building a democratic new Korea should be carried out hand in hand with the Korean Communists. This we must always bear in mind. Even today it is only the Korean Communists who since the liberation of Korea have been shedding blood fighting against those Korean national traitors conspiring to enslave Korea to imperialism again.

Who can deny the stern fact that in the past national struggle for emancipation of the Korean people from Japanese imperialism the Korean Communists made sacrifices more than anyone else? Therefore, KOREAN INDEPENDENCE does not hesitate to give prominence to their heroic fight as it is. As a result, frequent appearance on it of articles concerning the activities of the Korean Communists is inevitable. For KOREAN INDEPENDENCE strives to be a faithful servant of TRUTH.

For example, when the people of Yugoslavia waged a heroic war against the Nazi invaders, newspapers of the United Nations gave prominence to the brilliant military resistance of the Yugoslav Communists under Marshal Tito against the Nazis. Why? Because they shed blood and sacrificed their lives for the emancipation of their fatherland more than anyone else. Wasn't even the late President Roosevelt braided by his political enemies as a "communist" simply because he championed the cause of emancipation of the colonial peoples throughout the world and democratized labor laws for the American toiling masses?

KOREAN INDEPENDENCE is by no means a Communist paper; its ultimate mission being to relay the true democratic voice of the Korean people to abroad as truthfully as possible.

III. The next object of KOREAN INDEPENDENCE is the earliest establishment of a democratic Korean provisional government in

AMERICAN MILITARY GOV'T. IN SOUTH KOREA

By BERTRAM D. SARAFAN
(From FAR EASTERN SURVEY, November 20, 1946)
(Concluded from Previous Issue)

The Military Government after an early indication that it intended to dispose of Japanese owned property, real and personal, and although it subsequently received authorization to sell some of it, by July of this year had not done so. Much unfavorable propaganda against the Military Government has resulted from its failure to act. However, it must be realized that the disposition of so much wealth is bound to be an act with political implications, one perhaps best left to a future native government.

In the first nine months of the occupation little progress appeared to have been made towards the establishment of a native government. In southern Korea the political parties were still hopelessly split left against the right, indulging themselves in an endless squabbling, and in the entire area none among the political leaders seemed to possess the stature necessary for national leadership. The lack of a tradition of popular government seemed evident to most Americans who despaired that the political parties would ever extricate themselves or realize the consequences to popular government should they fail.

By spring the food situation in southern Korea assumed a serious aspect. The rosy picture of the preceding fall had long since been dispelled. The early estimates had proved over-optimistic or had failed to allow for the discontinuance of grain imports from abroad and by late winter or early spring the cities were experiencing a shortage of rice. Just how much rice there was in southern Korea during this period has been endlessly argued. The Koreans had eaten a little more freely than heretofore. The farmers were undoubtedly holding against a rising market. The Military Government experimented early, first with a free market in rice hoping to attract it by the legalizing of the black-market price to the cities and aware it had not the administrative machinery to do other-

wise. Later as the price of rice rose to unprecedented levels, a ceiling was imposed, considerably below the market price and in an otherwise free market. The result was an almost complete disappearance of rice from the cities. The severest criticism ever faced by the Military Government resulted from its handling of the rice problem, universally characterized by the Koreans as ineffectual and bungling. The Communists staged several demonstrations which their press greatly exaggerated.

Originally the Koreans, with the enthusiasm of a newly liberated people, had expected great things from the American occupation. Their hopes faded with time until it was replaced for many with cynicism. In the continuation of the closed border at the thirty-eighth parallel, they saw the strangulation of their country by its "liberators." They had seen two or three meetings of the Joint Russo-American Commission held amongst predictions of important accomplishments, only to end without results. It was a very general sentiment that the seeds of civil war between left and right elements throughout Korea had been sown. Many Koreans seriously expected war in Korea between Russia and the United States—at a time when the mere idea was still an unexpressed, ludicrous thought in our own country. The freedom of expression granted by the American forces was used very effectively and continually by the Korean press to take the Military Government to task. As a result of its handling of the rice problem the Koreans arrived at a complete loss of faith in the Military Government. The success of the democratic process for which the Military Government had come to stand and with which the rightist parties had identified themselves seemed unlikely.

By July of this year certain minor developments gave rise to some optimism, including preven-

(Continued on page 3)

accordance with the Moscow Decision on Korea.

IV. KOREAN INDEPENDENCE is widely recognized both at home and abroad as a crusading paper that is dedicated to the cause of Truth and Justice. Its articles and editorials are quoted in part or in full in newspapers in Korea, even in Pravda. And it is proud of having supplied to the students of the history of the Korean independence movement a wealth of data more than any other Korean publication in this country. Therefore, the fact that KOREAN INDEPENDENCE has played a brilliant role in propagandizing conscientiously Korean cultures to the American people cannot be denied.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the American Military Government, simultaneously with its set-up in Southern Korea, illegalized distribution of KOREAN INDEPENDENCE among the Koreans in Southern Korea. Any GI found guilty of reading or passing over any copy of KOREAN INDEPENDENCE is subject to punishment, many GI's and AMG employees having been discharged for having patronized KOREAN INDEPENDENCE. Moreover, it is said a Korean conservative political leader in California, who recently returned to the States from Southern Korea, claims that on the eve of his departure from Seoul he was requested by Lieut. Gen. Hodge to see to it that the publication of KOREAN INDEPENDENCE be suspended.

On the other hand, however, those Korean patriots in Southern

Korea who are engaged in the struggle for the cause of a democratic new Korea are thirsty for KOREAN INDEPENDENCE. In fact, they are extending their heartfelt moral encouragement to it, praying it will continue its brave fight to the bitter end at least until a unified democratic Korean government is established. As a souvenir of American Democracy the American Military Government has, in cold blood, strangled to death the four mouthpieces of the Korean democratic forces in Southern Korea — Haibang Ilpo, Inminpo, Hyundai Ilpo, and Chongang Shinmun — because of their critical attitude toward its virtues. This means KOREAN INDEPENDENCE is the only Korean publication abroad which on behalf of the Korean democratic forces is voicing grievances, wrath and desires of the Korean people.

The role to be played by KOREAN INDEPENDENCE hereafter is all the more vital, particularly today when the Korean people are struggling in scaling a political Alps. KOREAN INDEPENDENCE needs a redoubled support, both moral and material, from its readers so that it may fulfill its patriotic mission more effectively. And its mission can and will be fulfilled only when it continues to fight and overcome all obstacles with a greater determination and courage, as well as with a clearer vision until the realization of the dream for which our Korean patriotic young men and women have sacrificed their lives and for which our democratic compatriots in Southern Korea are now fighting.

Text of Marshall's Statement on Civil War in China

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 (AP)—The text of a statement by General George C. Marshall on the situation in China follows:

The President has recently given a summary of the development in China during the past year and the position of the American Government toward China. Circumstances now dictate that I should supplement this with impressions gained at first hand.

In this intricate and confused situation, I shall merely endeavor here to touch on some of the more important considerations—as they appeared to me—during my connection with the negotiations to bring about peace in China and a stable democratic form of government.

In the first place, the greatest obstacle to peace has been the complete, almost overwhelming suspicion with which the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang regard each other.

On the one hand, the leaders of the Government are strongly opposed to a communistic form of government. On the other, the Communists frankly state that they are Marxists and intend to work toward establishing a communistic form of government in China, though first advancing through the medium of a democratic form of government of the American or British type.

MUTUAL DISTRUST

The leaders of the Government are convinced in their minds that the Communist-expressed desire to participate in a government of the type endorsed by the Political Consultative Conference last January had for its purpose only a destructive intention. The Communists felt, I believe, that the Government was insincere in its apparent acceptance of the PCC resolutions for the formation of the new Government and intended by coercion of military force and the action of secret police to obliterate the Communist party.

Combined with this mutual deep distrust was the conspicuous error by both parties of ignoring the effect of the fears of suspicions of the other party in estimating the reason for proposals or opposition regarding the settlement of various matters under negotiation. They each sought only to take counsel of their own fears. They both, therefore, to that extent took a rather lopsided view of each situation and were susceptible to every evil suggestion or possibility.

This complication was exaggerated to an explosive degree by the confused reports of fighting on the distant and tremendous fronts of hostile military contact. Patrol clashes were deliberately magnified into large offensive actions. The distortion of the facts was utilized by both sides to heap condemnation on the other. It was only through the reports of American officers in the field teams from Executive Headquarters that I could get even a partial idea of what was actually happening and the incidents were too numerous and the distances too great for the American personnel to cover all of the ground.

I must comment here on the superb courage of the officers of our Army and Marines in struggling against almost insurmountable and maddening obstacles to bring some measure of peace to China.

FACTORS IN BREAKDOWN

I think the most important factors involved in the recent breakdown of negotiations are these:

On the side of the National Government, which is in effect the Kuomintang party, there is a dominant group of reactionaries who have been opposed, in my opinion, to almost every effort I have made to influence the formation of a genuine coalition Government. This has usually been under the cover of political or party action, but since the party was the Government, this action, though subtle or indirect, has been devastating in its effect. They were quite frank in publicly stating their belief that cooperation by the Chinese Communist party in the Government was inconceivable

and that only a policy of force could definitely settle the issue. This group includes military as well as political leaders.

On the side of the Chinese Communist party are, I believe, liberals as well as radicals, though this view is vigorously opposed by many who believe that the Chinese Communist party discipline is too rigidly enforced to admit of such differences of viewpoint. Nevertheless, it has appeared to me that there is a definite liberal group among the Communists, especially of young men who have turned to the Communists in disgust at the corruption evident in the local governments—men who would put the interest of the Chinese people above ruthless measures to establish a Communist ideology in the immediate future.

The dyed-in-the-wool Communists do not hesitate at the most drastic measures to gain their ends, for instance, the destruction of communications in order to wreck the economy of China and produce a situation that would facilitate the overthrow or collapse of the Government, without any regard to the immediate suffering of the people involved. They completely distrust the leaders of the Kuomintang party and appear convinced that every Government proposal is designed to crush the Chinese Communist party. I must say that the quite evidently inspired mob actions of last February and March, some within a few blocks of where I was then engaged in completing negotiations, gave the Communists good excuse for such suspicions.

RED PROPAGANDA ATTACKED

However, a very harmful and immensely provocative phase of the Chinese Communist party procedure has been in the character of its propaganda. I wish to state to the American people that in the deliberate misrepresentation and abuse of the action, policies and purposes of our Government this propaganda has been without regard for the truth, without any regard whatsoever for the facts, and has given plain evidence of a determined purpose to mislead the Chinese people and the world and to arouse a bitter hatred of Americans.

It has been difficult to remain silent in the midst of such public abuse and wholesale disregard of facts, but a denial would merely lead to the necessity of daily denials; an intolerable course of action for an American official.

In the interest of fairness, I must state that the Nationalist Government publicity agency has made numerous misrepresentations, though not of the vicious nature of the Communist propaganda.

Incidentally, the Communist statements regarding the Anping incident which resulted in the death of three marines and the wounding of twelve others were almost pure fabrication, deliberately representing a carefully arranged ambush of a marine convoy with supplies for the maintenance of Executive Headquarters and some UNRRA supplies, as a defense against a marine assault. The investigation of this incident was a tortuous procedure of delays and maneuvers to disguise the true and privately admitted facts of the case.

Sincere efforts to achieve settlement have been frustrated time and again by extremist elements of both sides. The agreements reached by the Political Consultative Conference a year ago were a liberal and forward-looking charter which then offered China a basis for peace and reconstruction. However, irreconcilable groups within the Kuomintang party, interested in the preservation of their own feudal control of China, evidently had no real intention of implementing them.

DEPLORES MILITARY INFLUENCE

Though I speak as a soldier, I must here also deplore the dominating influence of the military. Their dominance accentuates the

weakness of civil government in China. At the same time, in pondering the situation in China, one must have clearly in mind not the workings of small Communist groups or committees to which we are accustomed in America, but rather of millions of people and an army of more than a million men.

I have never been in a position to be certain of the development of attitudes in the innermost Chinese Communist circles. Most certainly, the course which the Chinese Communist party has pursued in recent months indicated an unwillingness to make a fair compromise. It has been impossible even to get them to sit down at a conference table with Government representatives to discuss given issues.

Now the Communists have broken off negotiations by their last offer, which demanded the dissolution of the National Assembly and a return to the military positions of Jan. 13, which the Government could not be expected to accept.

Between this dominant reactionary group in the Government and the irreconcilable Communists, who, I must state, did not so appear last February, lies the problem of how peace and well-being are to be brought to the long-suffering and presently inarticulate mass of the people of China. The reactionaries in the Government have evidently counted on substantial American support regardless of their unwillingness to compromise in the national interest are evidently counting on an economic collapse to bring about the fall of the Government, accelerated by extensive guerilla action against the long lines of rail communications—regardless of the cost in suffering to the Chinese people.

HOPE LIES IN LIBERALS

The salvation of the situation, as I see it, would be the assumption of leadership by the liberals in the Government and in the minority parties, a splendid group of men, but who as yet lack the political power to exercise a controlling influence. Successful action on their part under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek would, I believe, lead to unity through good government.

In fact, the National Assembly has adopted a democratic Constitution which in all major respects is in accordance with the principles laid down by the all-party Political Consultative Conference of last January. It is unfortunate that the Communists did not see fit to participate in the Assembly, since the Constitution that has been adopted seems to include every major point that they wanted.

Soon the Government in China will undergo major reorganization pending the coming into force of the Constitution following elections to be completed before Christmas Day, 1947. Now that the form for a democratic China has been laid down by the newly adopted Constitution, practical measures will be the best. It remains to be seen to what extent the Government will give substance to the form by a genuine welcome of all groups actively to share in the responsibility of Government.

FIRST STEP IN REORGANIZATION

The first step will be the reorganization of the State Council and the executive branch of Government to carry on administration pending the enforcement of the Constitution. The manner in which this is done and the amount of representation accorded to liberals and to non-Kuomintang members will be significant. It is also to be hoped that during this interim period the door will remain open for Communists or other groups to participate if they see fit to assume their share of responsibility for the future of China.

It has been stated officially and categorically that the period of political tutelage under the Kuomintang is at an end. If the termination of one-party rule is to be a reality, the Kuomintang should cease to receive financial

One-Room School Teacher 41 Years



Andrew Rentmeester, 63, in his 41st year as teacher at the one-room Finger Road school near Green Bay, Wis., helps first-grader Harley Greatens with his lessons. Rentmeester taught Harley's mother and grandmother, learned his own three R's at the same school. He managed a 200-acre farm until 10 years ago.

support from the Government.

I have spoken very frankly because in no other way can I hope to bring the people of the United States to even a partial understanding of this complex problem.

I have expressed all these views privately in the course of negotiations. They are well known, I think, to most of the individuals concerned. I express them now publicly, as it is my duty, to present my estimate of the situation and its possibilities to the American people who have a deep interest in the development of conditions in the Far East promising an enduring peace in the Pacific.

AMG IN SOUTH KOREA

(Continued from page 2)

tion of a threatened cholera epidemic by widespread inoculation of civilians by the Military Government, the arrival of early summer crops, and joint observation in Seoul on July 4 of the independence of the Philippines. Recent reports in the press, however, of riots in southern Korea and other evidences of unrest and dissatisfaction have considerably tempered that optimism.

U. S. - Russian Accord on Moscow Decision Nears

(Continued from Page 1)

vities in order that they may, to the maximum extent possible, gain experience and take over governmental responsibility pending establishment of their unified government. This does not mean that he intends to or that he can under his directives shirk his responsibility as executive, or completely transfer his executive power to any other agency until the provisional government of unified Korea is formed. At the same time it is the repeatedly announced and continuing intention of the American Commander to give to Koreans the maximum possible freedom in operation of the agencies of government assisted as required by American advisers and to further all legitimate and proper aspirations of the people of Southern Korea for independence.

"The Legislative Assembly is a body established with extensive powers under order No. 118 designed to give Koreans greater influence and voice in the affairs of Southern Korea. It is a great step forward and offers a great opportunity for the Korean people to develop their nation. It may draft legislation leading to important political, economic, and social reforms pending the establishment of the provisional government. However, it must remain clear to all that the legislature is not a government within itself, nor is it the governing body of South Korea. It is exactly what its name implies; an Interim Legislative Assembly with legislative powers to make laws and enforcement by the executive branch of government, and to assist the executive branch in carrying out government of South Korea according to the will of the Korean people pending the establishment of Korean provisional government under the Moscow Decision.

"As previously stated, I and my assistants, in accordance with the policy of the United States Government, will continue to work for a united Korea, governed by a democratic provisional government created in accordance with recognized international agreements and with the expressed will of the Korean people which will lead to the independence of Korea as a nation united—North and South into one. The desire of the Korean people to achieve unity, independence and democracy can best be realized by full knowledge of and adherence to the foregoing policies. Efforts to undermine or oppose these policies for selfish political or personal gains can only bring harmful results, and delay the progress of your nation. The Korean people must know and recognize facts as they exist and should not follow the will-of-the-wisp of purely wishful thinking. Those who support and aid in the development of the Korean Government within the framework of the policies will make the greatest possible contribution to the cause of early Korean independence."

The Church Times

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Five Cents

Federal Council Calls For Full Investigation Of Tennessee Race Riot Recommends No Cut Be Made In Immigration Quotas In U. S.

New York—A full investigation by the United States Department of Justice and the Governor of Tennessee into the recent race clash between Negroes and whites in Columbia, Tenn., was called for by the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches at its regular bi-monthly meeting here.

In telegrams to U.S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark and Governor Jim McCord of Tennessee the committee declared "There are charges of the searching of homes without warrants, the wholesale arrests and holding incommunicado of people who were defending themselves, the shooting and killing of prisoners in the jail and several other acts which are a violation of the constitutional rights of citizens, and illegal conduct on the part of officers of the law."

The committee specifically urged Clark and Gov. McCord to take "such legal action under the Federal and State laws as the facts may warrant so as to bring to justice any and all persons, including officers of the law, who may be guilty."

"In these critical times," the committee said, "this incident has grave importance, far beyond the bounds of the local community where it occurred."

Immigration Quotas

The committee in a telegram to Representative John Lestinski, chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, recommended that no cuts be made in U.S. immigration quotas.

The committee's action, taken at its regular bi-monthly meeting here, was prompted by a bill introduced in Congress by Rep. Ed. Gossett (D. Texas) which would halve all existing quotas for the next ten years. The minimum annual quota for each country, however, would be 100, according to Gossett's proposal.

In its telegram the committee also
(Continued on page 5; col. 4)

Director.



Walter Barlow

Philadelphia—The Rev. Walter Barlow, Ph.D., will begin his work as director of the Department of Faith and Life of the Board of Christian Education on April 1. A native of England, Dr. Barlow served four years as missionary in South Africa, and held pastorates in Liverpool and Birmingham. In 1920, he came to the United States and has since served the Church as pastor, professor, and moderator of the Iowa Synod. For six years he was professor of systematic theology at the University of Dubuque, and since 1929 has been pastor of the Collegiate church at Ames, Iowa, and director of Westminster Foundation at Iowa State college. He received his Ph.D. degree in theology from the graduate school of Dubuque. He is the author of "With Christ to the Cross", "The Problem of Suffering", and several articles appearing in religious periodicals.

The Revised Standard Version of the New Testament has more value for Christian religious education than any other version. . . It is meant for everyone, for young and old, for people in every situation, for the school-room and for the pulpit, for private devotions and for public worship.—Dr. Luther A. Welglo.

Korean Churches In Demoralized State Status Of United Church Uncertain

By Richard T. Baker

Seoul, Korea—Disciplined, undisciplined, confused, dazed and leaderless is the state of the Christian church in Korea today. It has come out of a period of oppression under the Japanese and of five years without the presence of foreign missionaries in the country with its morale tottering, its property dirty and run-down, and its ranks divided on the collaborationist issue.

This correspondent spent two weeks making dozens of calls on leaders of the church here, and did not find one of them in his office or available for interviews. At mid-morning one day the doors of the Bible House were still locked. At the same hour no one was in the office or at the desk of the downtown YMCA at 11 a.m. a padlock still hung on the outside door of the Christian Young People's Association building. This is an indication of the undisciplined routine which churchmen are following in Korea today.

Collaboration

A few flagrant cases of collaboration, such as the sale of churches to produce money for Japan's war chest and the installation of a Shinto shrine in at least one Methodist sanctuary, have done nothing to increase the spiritual prestige of Christianity in this country. Some of the most famous names among Christian leaders in Korea have a most unsavory reputation today in the opinion of the politically-aware man in the street.

Christian property is in a pitiful state. The main yard of Severance Union Medical College and hospital has been used as a coal dump and looks more like a railroad yard than a hospital grounds. The buildings are dingy and dirty.

The best kept Christian building in the city is the Roman Catholic Immaculate Conception cathedral.

Two main factors have contributed to this state of disrepair in which Christian properties find themselves today. One is the fact that the Japanese removed most of the fixtures
(Continued on page 3; col. 2)

Report Favorable Reaction To Proposals For Reunion Of Presbyterians Intention Of Promoting Union With Episcopal Church Reaffirmed

Philadelphia—Proposals for reunion of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (Southern) have gained support among the former body, it was reported at a meeting of the Department of Church Cooperation and Union here.

Representatives of the department announced that the plan providing for reunion of the two churches, which was distributed for study and report throughout the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., has been favorably received, with few comments against it.

Drafting committees from both Churches will meet jointly at Asheville, N. C., June 18-20, to further union negotiations.

The department also reaffirmed the intention of Presbyterians to promote the ultimate union of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., with the Protestant Episcopal Church. One hundred and fifty-eight presbyteries have planned to set up committees on church cooperation and union, and 32 already have done so. (RNS)

Results Of Poll On Union

Richmond, Va.—Preliminary returns from a poll of Presbyterian ministers, elders, and seminary students in seven Southern states show that 71 percent favor union of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern).

Thirty-nine per cent of those replying to the queries sent out by the Presbyterian Outlook, church publication, favor union as soon as practicable. Thirty-two per cent favor union, but not while there is any considerable protesting minority.

Twenty-nine per cent flatly oppose union.

The poll, sent to all ministers in the States of Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, as well as stu-
(Continued on page 3; col. 3)

seminary occupied the pulpit of First church, Sunday, March 10. Dr. John H. Gardner, Jr., the pastor, delivered the Lenten sermons in Trinity church, Boston, during the week of March 10 to 15. Dr. Gardner has preached at Trinity church one week during Lent for the past several years.

Dr. Robert W. Galloway, pastor of the United Presbyterian church, Columbus Junction, Iowa, has been called to the Towson Presbyterian church. He began his work Sunday, March 10. He is a brother of John T. Galloway of the Roland Park church.

Alcoholism

Dr. Robert V. Seliger, instructor in psychiatry in John Hopkins Medical school and visiting psychiatrist at John Hopkins hospital, and a leading authority on alcoholism, addressed the Presbyterian ministers on March 11 at First United Presbyterian church, John R. Arneal, pastor. Dr. Seliger inlets that an alcoholic is a diseased person and requires treatment on the same scientific basis as any other ill person. He told the ministers that religion has a very definite and important part in curing alcoholism and urged the ministers to prepare themselves to do their part in saving the present generation which is drifting toward alcoholism at an alarming rate.

The Rev. Richard M. Shaul, a missionary under the Board of Foreign Missions to Colombia, South America, spoke, March 3, at the morning service of the Catonsville church. William H. Kepler, pastor. His subject was "Protestantism and the Americas".—Walter R. Cremins.

Missions

First Group Of Missionaries Go To Korea Soon

New York — The first Protestant missionaries to resume work in Korea have been given American military clearance and will leave for the Orient shortly, the Rev. Rowland M. Cross, executive secretary of the Committee on East Asia of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, disclosed here.

The missionaries are Dr. Archibald Fletcher, of the Presbyterian Church USA, and Dr. B. Dillings, of the Methodist Church. They are members of a group of ten missionaries who will eventually be sent to Korea by the Foreign Mission Conference.

Dr. Fletcher, who is chairman of the ten-man group, was formerly superintendent of the Presbyterian Hospital at Taiku and was also connected with the leper hospital there. He will bring medical supplies to be used in alleviating acute relief needs in Seoul and other areas. Dr. Dillings, a missionary since 1908, taught for seven years in Chosen Christian college. (RNS)

"BIBLICAL WHEAT"



Perry Hayden, Tecumseh, Mich., Quaker miller, standing in front of the first little plot of wheat grown from the cubic inch of grain shown in the insert, with the huge increase in the background. A 10 percent tithe for the church was deducted each year, and the entire balance replanted. The average annual increase of the "Tithed Wheat" far exceeded the state average of Michigan.

Biblical Wheat Grows To 2,500 Acres In 6 Years

Inspired by a sermon in his local Quaker church in 1940 Perry Hayden, a Quaker miller of Tecumseh, Mich., set out to illustrate some of the Bible lessons on "Tithing", "Re-birth" and "Return on what we sow".

Hayden started with a cubic inch of wheat, which he planted in the above patch of 4 ft. by 8 ft. . . . A year later, he harvested the patch; deducted 10% of the crop as a tithe to the church, and planted the balance again, the following year. . . . The second, third and fourth years he again deducted the tithe and replanted the entire balance of each crop. . . . Last year's crop, which was the fifth, had grown from the original cubic inch to 230 acres and netted 5,555 bushels. The sixth and final year of the demonstration required 2,500 acres of land. If continued for nine years it would require all of the land in W. Virginia, and in ten years it would cover the whole United States. It is estimated that the 13th year would cover the whole globe—all starting with a cubic inch of wheat, a little faith and God's promises.

Land for the first five years, was furnished by Henry Ford, but last fall's planting was so large that no single tract of land in Michigan could handle it, so the seed was parceled out to about 250 farmers throughout the country, who have planted the genuine "Biblical Wheat" and will give the tithe to more than 160 different churches representing all faiths.

A representative field of the famous "Dynamic Kernels" has been planted inside the race track at the Adrian, Mich., Fair Grounds, where the final huge official celebration will be held during the harvest this summer. The wheat will be cut, threshed,

ground into flour, baked into biscuits and fed to the multitudes in the grandstands, right before their very eyes.

"The colorful parades, cutting and harvesting pageants, showing equipment used from the Biblical days down to the modern combines, and reports from the farmers throughout the country who are making possible the completion of this stupendous final year of the project, will make this great religious event a living demonstration of the Biblical truths regarding sowing, reaping, re-birth and tithing," says Perry Hayden, the Quaker miller and founder of the demonstration.

REPORT FAVORABLE REACTION TO PROPOSALS FOR REUNION OF PRESBYTERIANS

(Continued from page 1; col. 4)

dents in the four Presbyterian seminaries and hundreds of elders, does not concern any plan of reunion. It only seeks to learn if the persons queried are in favor of or opposed to the merger. (RNS)

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Church History

Suggestions For Celebrating Church Anniversaries

Philadelphia—Dr. Charles A. Anderson, manager of the department of history of the General Assembly, has completed a pamphlet entitled, "Suggestions for Celebrating Church Anniversaries," designed to assist ministers and churches of all denominations in making the most of their anniversary observances.

"The celebration of a church anniversary can be made the occasion for kindling a fresh interest in the life and work of the church," according to Dr. Anderson. "Churches normally commemorate the 10th, 25th, and multiples of 25th anniversaries, although other years are sometimes signalled for special reasons. The people will respond with enthusiasm if the leaders, in the words of Jean Jaures, take from the past its fires, not its ashes. An early start is essential for coping with various details where the main outlines have been sketched."

Included in the pamphlet are discussions of organization of anniversary celebrations through committees. Other sections include "Setting Up the Program," and "Samples of Anniversary Programs."

Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained from the Presbyterian Historical Society, Room 520 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7.

13 Liberty Ships Named After Presbyterians

Thirteen Presbyterians were among the 86 prominent religious leaders in the history of America who had Liberty ships named after them during the war, according to U.S. Navy Chaplain Clifford M. Drury, in an article in the Jan-Feb. issue of the Army and Navy Chaplain Magazine.

The 86 were divided denominationally as follows: Congregationalists 22, Roman Catholics 15, Presbyterians 13, Episcopalians 13, Methodists 7, Baptists 6, Unitarians 5, Presbyterian-Congregationalist 1, Lutherans 1, Mormons 1, Quakers 1, Jews 1.

Liberty ships were named after the following Presbyterians: Lyman Beecher, James Caldwell, George Gale, John Grier Hibben, Sheldon Jackson, Elphalett Nott, Billy Sunday, Henry Van Dyke, John Witherspoon, James Woodrow, Woodrow Wilson, William Black Yates, S. Hall Young.

Before entering the chaplaincy Lieutenant Commander Drury taught at the San Francisco Theological seminary. He is author of biographies of Henry Harmond Spalding and Marcus Whitman, and has written many books and articles on the history of Presbyterianism in California.

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS

Presbyterian and Personal

Edited By Phebe Miller

—Dr. Carlyle Adams, editor of The Presbyterian Tribune and The Church Times, will be the guest preacher, March 31, in the Second Reformed church, Somerville, N. J. The pastor, Dr. Thomas P. Haig, is President of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America.

—Four laymen and two ministers are the guest speakers at the special Lenten Wednesday evening meetings in First Church, Ossining, N. Y., the Rev. Frank O. Reed, pastor. Laymen of the church have planned the series and are conducting the services. The speakers include Austin C. Lescarboura of Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y., author and editor of scientific publications and a lay reader in the Protestant Episcopal Church; Herrick B. Young of Scarsdale, former newspaper man and missionary in Iran, now personnel secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions; Walter W. Head of St. Louis, Mo., trustee of several Presbyterian colleges, president of the General American Life Insurance Company and president, National Council Boy Scouts of America; the Rev. W. David Owl, of Iroquois, N. Y., Cherokee Indian, missionary to the Seneca Indians of the Cattaraugus Reservation; Dr. Campbell Wyckoff of Pleasantville, N. Y., assistant secretary, rural church and Indian work units of the Board of National Missions; and the Rev. Robert W. Searle, D.D., of Scarborough, general secretary, Greater New York Federation of Churches. The theme of the series is "What Christ Means to Me."

—Frank M. Totton, chairman of the National Laymen's Committee of the Restoration Fund spoke, March 24, at the Pelham, N. Y., Huguenot Memorial church, outlining the overall aims of the Restoration Movement.

—First church, Pouca City, Okla., received 35 new members on Sunday, March 17. Dr. John Paul Vincent, pastor, carries on a year round personal evangelism program conducted by specially trained laymen of his church. There are 30 members of his Andrew Club and for four consecutive nights twelve teams made one hundred contacts resulting in the large number received on the 17th of March.

—Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, has returned to New York from a six-month stay in Geneva, Switzerland, where he worked with the general staff of the World Council of Churches. He took an active part in organization of the first post-war meeting of the Provisional Committee of the World Council.

—Dr. L. David Cowie, pastor, Linwood Boulevard church, Kansas City,

Mo., is the speaker on the early "Church Of The Air" program over the Columbia network Sunday, March 31. His topic: "Christ First". Music is by the congregation's Cathedral and Chancel Choir with Delbert E. Johnson directing and Sue Goss Bush at the organ.

—Highland Park church, Los Angeles, Calif., Dr. E. G. Williams, minister, has, during the last 21 months, paid off the final \$30,000 of all their formerly large indebtedness, and on Sunday, February 24, celebrated this accomplishment. While clearing the debt, the church has given in excess of the benevolent quotas assigned and has met also the special causes presented by the presbytery and the Church at large. During the same period, 244 persons have been added to the membership, 144 of them being on confession of faith. On Brotherhood Sunday, February 17, the church had a local Rabbi of the Highland Park Hebrew Temple, the officers and members of that congregation and their B'nai B'rith and the Jewish War Veterans as guests in the morning service.

—Two hundred men attended the laymen's communion breakfast held at Lakewood church, Lakewood, Ohio, on March 10. Following the breakfast an address was given by the Rev. Robert B. Whyte, D.D., pastor of the Old Stone church, Cleveland. Dr. Leroy Lawther is the minister at Lakewood church.

Minnesota

Westminster Choir Presents Oratorio By Elgar

Minneapolis — Westminster church choir, under the direction of Rupert Sircom, will present Sir Edward Elgar's oratorio, "The Dream of Gerontius" on Sunday, April 7, at 8 P. M. The text, which is by Cardinal Newman, deals with the death of a man and the immortality of his soul. The work was last given in this city in 1907, by the late Emil Oberhoffer, who was the first director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and the Philharmonic Club. The music is considered by many to be the most notable achievement of the composer. Mr. Sircom will play the organ as well as direct the choir. The soloists will be, Margaret Thuras, contralto, Harold Bergstrom, tenor, Keuueh Felsted, baritone.

Minneapolis music lovers are looking forward with great anticipation to this magnificent work presented by the gifted artist Mr. Rupert Sircom and the Westminster Choir.—Lillian D. Johnston.

Chief Adviser



Horace H. Underwood

Missionaries Advise Korean Military Government

Seoul, Korea—While military permission for civilian missionaries to travel to Korea and take up again their church duties has not yet been officially given, a number of them are already here in advisory positions to the American military government south of the 38th parallel.

Chief adviser to Major General Archer L. Lerch, military governor of Korea, is Dr. Horace H. Underwood, longtime missionary here, whose knowledge of Korean history, customs and language astounds every one who meets him.

Dr. Underwood, a Presbyterian, was associated with Chosen Christian College, the large men's university in the suburbs of Seoul. He interprets for General Lerch, advises on policy, meets Korean leaders, and in his spare time lectures to American military personnel on the lore of the country in which they are stationed.

Agricultural Adviser

The Rev. Frank E. C. Williams, Methodist missionary, who serves as an adviser to the agriculture bureau of the military government, has the unique distinction among overseas men in uniform of having his wife with him. The Williamses came to Korea in November from India where they had been for five years in another station of the Methodist mission.

Other missionaries now in government service here are: Dr. R. M. Wilson, Presbyterian medical missionary who served here in work among lepers and is now being used by military government in the same capacity; Dr. J. L. Bigger, also a Presbyterian doctor, whose work now puts him in supervision of Korean hospitals; Dr. Ernest Fisher, former Methodist missionary, now with the Department of State; the Rev. William C. Kerr, who advises the department of culture of the educational

bureau of the government; a Presbyterian missionary here of long experience.

Captain C. N. Weems, Jr., an aide to General Lerch, spent fourteen years of his life in Korea while his father was a Methodist missionary in Songdo. (RNS)

Chicago Presbytery

Rev. Edwin Eells To Leave Association House

Chicago—After 18 successful years as headresident of Association House, the Rev. Edwin Eells has presented his resignation to be effective on April 1. Mr. Eells, who plans a year of rest and study, will continue to make his home in Chicagoland. He leaves the program and finances of Association House in excellent shape.

As a presbyter he serves the presbytery as chairman of its department of inter-church relations. A leader beyond the presbytery, he has been active in the service of the council of social agencies, the community fund and the federation of settlements and neighborhood houses.

During February, Chicago Fourth church celebrated its 75th anniversary. It grew out of a union of North Presbyterian and Westminster churches and symbolized the uniting of the old school and new school branches.

The preachers at the special services held during the month were; Dr. John Timothy Stone, Dr. James W. Clarke and Dr. Harrison Ray Anderson. One of the highlights of the celebration was an historical pageant. Dr. Kenneth Hildebrand was the reader and recited the story of this three-quarters of a century as its outstanding events were dramatized.

During the 75 years, 11,300 persons have been received into the membership of the church; \$5,570,000 have been raised for current expenses and \$6,150,000 for benevolences.

Tops Restoration Fund Goal

Rogers Park is the first of the 122 churches of the Presbytery of Chicago to subscribe its total Restoration Fund goal. The goal for the church is \$10,376. To date over \$11,000 dollars have been subscribed. Over 25 percent of the pledges were in cash. The Rev. John A. Lampe is the pastor.

First Church of Evanston sponsors a comprehensive program of parent education through its parent-teacher association. The program includes addresses by prominent religious educators, counseling for parents of preschool children, a class in child development for parents of elementary school children and a weekly discussion hour for mothers. The Rev. J. C. Wynn is the staff member on the parent-teacher committee.

The Rev. Paul Stumpf has been called to the pastorate of Roseland church. He will take up his duties on April 1.

Education

Mould To Head Department Of Children's Work

Philadelphia — On March 18, the Rev. Ralph N. Mould, pastor of Second church, Germantown, Philadelphia, since 1940, became director of the department of children's work for the Board of Christian Education. Mr. Mould has served for 11 years on the faculty of summer conferences. He is the author of "Guiding Boys and Girls to Christ", a manual which has been used extensively in the mission to teachers program, imprinted editions of which have been requested by two other denominations. Mr. Mould is a native Pennsylvanian. He studied at Princeton university, and is a graduate of Oberlin college and McCormick Theological seminary.

"The Church's Basic Business"

The new film strip is available free to churches which wish to present the story of our nation-wide program of Christian Education. It is in black and white, contains 68 frames, and runs about 30 minutes. With the mimeographed narrative, it may be secured through your Field Director, or by writing to the Division of Church Relations, 825 Witherspoon Bldg., Phila. 7.

Summer Training Schools

In addition to the training centers at the College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio, July 22-August 3, and at San Francisco seminary, San Anselmo, California, August 5-16, there will be one for the eastern area at Hood college, Frederick, Md., from July 1 to 12. The date originally announced was July 8 to 19.

National Council Meeting

The Westminster Fellowship National Council for 1946 will hold its third annual meeting at Coe college, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, June 29 to July 6. Since the full quota of 51 delegates is expected to attend, this will be the largest meeting yet held. The general theme is "Youth's Responsibility—Service".

Westminster Fellowship Supplies

Letterheads with the Westminster Fellowship Emblem in four colors in the upper left corner are priced as follows: \$1.50 for 100, \$6.75 for 500, \$10 for 1,000. They are available through all Presbyterian Book Stores. Line cuts for printing the Westminster Fellowship emblem, the Celtic Cross, and each of the four Commission symbols, may be borrowed from the Department of Young People's Work, 1105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7.

Choir Schools

Mr. John M. Kelly, director of Music of the Board of Christian Education, announces that four choir schools will be held this summer: at Warren H. Wilson Vocational

Junior college, Swannanoa, N. C., June 3-14, Mr. Kelly, dean; at the Allison James school, Saute Fe, N. M., June 24-July 5, George M. Krueger, dean; at Hood college, Frederick, Md., July 1-12, Cecil Stewart, dean; and at the College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio, July 22-August 3, Mr. Kelly, dean.

Chicago Clergymen Demand Investigation Of Schools

Chicago — Clergymen were prominent at a tumultuous session of the City Council here where a council subcommittee is beginning a probe of the Chicago public schools.

Dr. George M. Gibson, Presbyterian minister, and president of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago which represents 1,200 churches; Dr. Jacob Weinstein representing the Chicago Rabbinical Association of 55 congregations; and Dr. Ray Freeman Jenney, Presbyterian, a church federation trustee and member of the South Shore Ministerial Association, were among those who testified to corruption and inadequacies in the city schools.

Dr. Gibson declared that a report of the National Education Association "has put our school system under a cloud of suspicion" and that the churches demanded a thorough investigation to find the truth.

Dr. Weinstein declared that "the schools are controlled by a system of fear, espionage, and nepotism."

"We fear," he said, "the effect of the system on our teachers and alternately on our children—the hope of our democracy." (RNS)

KOREAN CHURCHES IN DEMORALIZED STATE

(Continued from page 1; col. 3)

from the buildings and there have been no materials for repairs during the war. The other factor is the Koreans' own responsibility for allowing churches and Christian institutions to become dirty and neglected. Business firms in Seoul, homes and civic buildings are not as rundown as church properties. (Copyright, 1946, RNS)

United Or Not?

Seoul, Korea—Is there or is there not a united Protestant church in Korea? This is the most debated question in Christian circles here today.

There is a concentrated leadership in Seoul of a united church, built on what was left of a 15-day-old Japanese-sponsored union. There is also a skeleton Methodist organization trying to reshape itself, and throughout the country the presbyteries of the Presbyterian church are reforming. A union church in this country is almost entirely a Presbyterian-Methodist affair, as those two denominations are by far the largest. There is also a smaller Holiness group which has been reformed after five

years of oblivion and is actively promoting a revival program throughout southern Korea.

Korea is an ideal Christian community for union. There are only major denominations in the field, and throughout the years, their efforts have been closely synchronized. They did not compete in areas one or the other served. The large Christian institutions in the country, like Severance Union Medical College and Hospital, the Ewha College for women and Chosen Christian College, are all union institutions and have been for many years. Furthermore, there has always been a strong pro-union group among the leaders and laity of both the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations.

Government Sponsored Union

As in Japan, the government sought to control the Christian churches here by uniting them under one dictatorial head. The Korean union, however, did not come as quickly as it did in Japan. It was not until June, 1945, that the Japanese vice governor-general in Seoul called in the Protestant leaders and told them it would be desirable for them to get together. The leaders had all been coached in advance and approved an immediate union. A committee, including government bureaucrats, wrote the constitution of the united church in the four days from June 26 to 29.

The constitutional convention of this united church was called for July 19 and 20, with 27 Presbyterian representatives present, 21 Methodist, six Salvation Army, and one each from five smaller groups. The delegates were not elected but named by their denominational headquarters.

The conference was held in the Chong Dong Methodist church in Seoul with delegates from the government there to congratulate the new church. The regulations were read and adopted. The leaders of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches and the Salvation Army resigned and formally dissolved their separate groups. An election was held for the head of the church, but the ballot was sealed and counted by the educational bureau of the government. This bureau announced that the Rev. Kim Kwau-sik, who himself admits that he could not possibly have had a majority of the votes, was elected chairman.

A Dilemma

The resulting union went to work on August 1 and quit fourteen days later when Japan surrendered. Churchmen in Korea were then faced with a dilemma; What kind of a church did they have, denominations or a united church or none at all? The denominations had been legally dissolved. The Japanese-sponsored union expired with the Japanese regime in Korea.

A formal meeting dissolving the union was called in October. Only

a few persons showed up. Members from north of the 38th parallel were unable to come, and many in southern Korea also stayed away. There was not a quorum present, and the only formal business done was the resignation of Mr. Kim and his staff.

On November 27 the Chong Dong church in Seoul was literally packed full of Christians of all denominations attending a mass meeting to welcome back to Korea two prominent Christians, Dr. Syngman Rhee and Kim Koo, of the provisional government. They had been long exiled from their homeland, and the Christians turned out masses to greet their leaders.

The meeting quickly turned into a political rally, with a heavy emphasis upon Korean unity. On the spur of the moment certain leaders of the church captured this mood and pressed through a motion to form a united church on the spot. While objections were raised about the constitutionality of such a procedure, the motion was passed.

Mr. Kim was again elected chairman, and a committee of forty was authorized to draw up regulations for the church to be submitted to a full convention, probably in April. Only south Korea delegates were present at this meeting. Hence, the delay until April was effected in order to give time to bring in the Christians of north Korea. The organization brought into being at this meeting calls itself the Korean Christian Church, South Korea Synod.

Methodists Hesitate On Union

The Salvation Army has already indicated that it will not participate in another united church. The Holiness group, while it has reorganized by itself, may later join the union. Of the two major groups, the Methodists are most hesitant about the abrupt union.

The Methodists are the smaller of the two major denominations here, and they feel their own denominational concerns are not being cared for in the union which is dominated by Presbyterians. They also feel that the union is a clever shield by which the same wartime leaders of the churches are continuing in power.

These Methodist leaders, with some Presbyterians joining them, argue that the first move should be to restore the denominational sovereignty, and then on the basis of duly constituted delegates proceed to effect a democratic union.

Presbyterians are reorganizing their presbyteries, and the Methodist conferences hope to be reformed and meet soon. Meanwhile, both the denominations and the united church office are functioning simultaneously. The future will probably prove that the union of today is not firmly rooted in popular church support and that the denominations will be restored. When that day comes campaigns for re-unification will be started. (RNS)

THE CHRISTIAN FRIENDS OF KOREA
416 Columbian Building
Washington 1, D. C.

January 20, 1944

Dear Friends of Korea:

It is a long time since I wrote you about Korea's effort to restore its independence. This interruption was caused by a number of happenings: my remarriage last summer; holidaying in Canada for three months - July, August and September; purchase of a home in St. Petersburg; much renovating of the same; and some other duties that need not be mentioned. Now it is all done and I can again apply myself to this labor of love.

I am very happy to say that my colleague for 35 years in the Severance institution in Korea, Dr. J. W. Hirst, the efficient head of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology there, has settled in this city only three blocks from my home and will again become my co-worker. His address is 311 - 8th Ave. North, St. Petersburg, Fla.

No doubt you read in the papers, shortly after the conference of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and President Chiang Kai-shek in Cairo, President Roosevelt's statement through the Press that the independence of Korea would be restored at the end of the present war. That means that one-half of what we are striving for has been attained and for this we are indeed grateful but, after all, there is yet something further to work for. Koreans and Korea's friends want the recognition of the Powers to go one step further -- to recognize the immediate independence of Korea and take her on as a member of the group of United Nations. Should this be done, a large army of Koreans could be mobilized to fight with the allies in China, Manchuria, Korea and even Japan, and thus make it clear that they are in earnest and are willing and anxious to stand up and fight for their national freedom. They want to be free and to become an effective member of the group of free peoples that will be organized when the Great Peace comes. Is this not a worthy aim?

Such a Korean Army, organized now, placed under competent and sympathetic officers selected from either one or several of the armies of the United Nations and supplied with arms and munitions, could give very effective aid in the fight with Japan and at the same time enable an equal number of soldiers of the allied forces to be used in other fields.

The Christian Friends of Korea, working and praying for a more speedy victory and feeling that this use of Korean men would shorten the war with Japan, join the Koreans in urging that Korea be at once recognized as a member of the United Nations group ready to fight with the allied armies in any place to which they may be sent.

While thanking the distinguished heads of the three great nations -- America, China and Great Britain -- for their declaration of what the future status of Korea will be, let us do our best to assure them that Korea is worthy of being at once fully recognized as a member of the allied group and that this could be made to add greatly to the fighting force of those who are struggling to destroy the enemies of freedom and to bring in an era of peace and world fellowship such as has not heretofore been known.

To this end, the Christian Friends of Korea ask all who receive this statement to send in their names with a contribution to help meet the unavoidable expenses of the association. How much? Well, any amount from \$1.00 up will help. The largest individual contribution to date is \$500.00 -- just do the best you can, knowing it costs a great deal to carry on this work, covering both the U.S.A. and Canada. A receipt will be sent you at once and, at frequent intervals, letters will go to all members, reporting the progress of the work.

Very sincerely,

O R Avison

Secretary-Treasurer

5

Mr. La Roe Calls for Freedom for Deserving Korea

(From The Washington Evening Star, April 24, 1945)

To the Editor of The Star:

Christian people who are interested in missions have for many years felt special concern about Korea. It would be difficult to find anywhere in the world a people more worthy of fullness of life and uninterrupted freedom, or to find a people more consistently deprived of these things. Just as deep love for the classics and for Greece made Lord Byron say, "I dreamed that Greece might yet be free," so the Christian people of America have prayed that the simple, peace-loving people of Korea might soon know the blessings of liberty.

The resentment among church people would, indeed, be deep if it should develop that there is truth in the report that in the Yalta negotiations Korea was once more treated as a pawn on a chessboard and turned over as a vassal to Russia. The Koreans, long under the cruel heel of Japan, had a right to believe that when the democracies of the world won their battle against fascism and totalitarianism Korea would be one of the small nations to be given a taste of freedom.

If the conference of the Protestant churches at Cleveland, to which I was privileged to be a delegate, found it necessary to criticize the Dumbarton Oaks proposals very seriously because of their failure to protect fully the rights of small nations, and if the conference found it necessary to condemn "spheres of influence" because they result in a "one-sided surrender of the sovereign equality of states to which the organization professes allegiance," what possible justification can there be for selling out little Korea to the Russians?

If the delegates to the San Francisco Conference want to avoid giving offense to Christian people throughout the world, they had better safeguard the interests of this little nation.

-- Wilbur La Roe, Jr.

TO THOSE WHO WOULD OPPOSE OUR GOVERNMENT

We would like to ask a few pointed questions of the handful of Koreans both here and in the Far East who are constantly working against the purpose and program of the Korean Provisional Government.

Is it not your hope, as Koreans, to see the entire people of Korea solidly united, at this most crucial hour in world history, so that we may obtain our recognition from the Allies and restore the complete independence of our Nation?

For that very objective our people in two or three groups have been laboring in accordance with the respective policy of each. Unfortunately, however, none of these has yet accomplished the objective. Why? Each of you must calmly and objectively search his own conscience and give answer to this Why.

Elementary common sense tells us that if a nationality has no organized Government and if each individual or group of individuals were to clamor for the recognition of other powers for himself or his own particular group, it will invite only the contempt and ridicule of those powers. In our case, however, we are fortunate indeed to have the Korean Provisional Government, built by the sacred blood of our patriots at home. Had we all wholeheartedly supported this Government, the Allied Powers would have had no possible excuse for not giving us their direct help, for their Cause is the same as ours.

However, you, handful in number but loud in clamor, have been actively engaged in a propaganda to the world, belittling and discrediting this Provisional Government of ours! You have been telling the Allies that the Korean Provisional Government represents only an insignificant number of Koreans; that no one inside of Korea knows anything about this Government; and that the leaders in this Government are old men and hence incapable of doing anything. Thus you voluntarily have made it possible for the governments and the press of the Allies to tell us that they could not recognize Korea because the Koreans are so apparently divided among themselves. How could any person of Korean blood ever even think of doing a thing like this? And why?

As a matter of fact, we all know the Korean Provisional Government was organized by the accredited representatives of Korea's thirteen Provinces, who at the same time proclaimed to the world that this shall be the one and only Government until the moment when our independence shall have been completely restored and a permanent Government shall be elected on Korean soil. Thus, the 27,000,000 people in our homeland are placing their highest hopes in this Provisional Government and are praying for the ultimate success of its heroic fight for Freedom. Obviously, those of you who are spreading your malicious propaganda must know that it

is a pure fabrication. But suppose, for argument's sake, that what you say were true: You must have common sense enough to know that such propaganda must irreparably damage Korea's Cause. Then, for what mysterious purpose do you so actively spread it?

Hon. Kim Ku and his colleagues in the Korean Provisional Government are men of high principles, great abilities, and wide experiences, having fought heroic fights for our Liberty from their youth, and hence possessing the highest respect and deepest confidence not only of all the Koreans everywhere but also of all the foreigners who know Korea's contemporary history. Furthermore, the membership in the Korean Provisional Government represents every part of the Peninsula, and the people in our homeland are quite satisfied with it. These men in the Government are always ready to give their lives at the first opportunity to do so, even as they have been so daringly challenging danger throughout all their lives. True, as you say, young men are more lively. If that were a sound reason for advocating the replacement of elderly men of great experiences, then all governments in the world must of necessity go to high school football squads to select their ministers of state. Youth has its place. But it must first learn how to respect leaders, obey orders and carry out prescribed tasks. Youth must perform its duties before demanding rights; it must learn how to be led before it can lead! No one can suddenly blossom forth as a national leader overnight. The Nation would not tolerate it. The recognition of a people must be earned in the hard, honest way—through decades, as true leaders have done. Is it not foolish to the extreme, therefore, for you to claim any responsible rights before rendering any service to the Nation?

The men in our Provisional Government are not anxious to keep their posts for the sake of any power or glory, for obviously there is none to be had. They do so, rather, out of their sense of responsibility to the people of Korea, especially now, when some irresponsible men like yourselves are trying so hard to usurp those posts! Who else can carry on our national work so diligently and so fervently as these men have been carrying on?

Can you, you handful of malcontents, carry on the work of our Provisional Government and of the Korean Commission with such order and prestige as they have been thus far so nobly carrying on? Will our 27,000,000 people place any confidence in you, and if not, will they have any inclination to obey you? You owe it to yourselves to search your own souls honestly! The responsibility of leadership rests upon the shoulders of men who have learned how to obey.

THE KOREAN PEOPLES TIMES
3418 So. Catalina Street
Los Angeles 7, California



APPLETON

A good number attended Rally Day services here Sunday. Mrs. Ella James and Mrs. Lulu Woodbury spent one day the past week with Mrs. Nettie Hatch. Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Crotinger entertained their Farm Bureau Council group Monday evening. Mr. and Mrs. John Miles at-

tended a dinner Sunday at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Francis Milum. Mrs. Ida Brandon, who has spent the summer with her daughter, Mrs. Harvey Peters left Sunday to spend the winter with her son Greenville.

Advertising Pays

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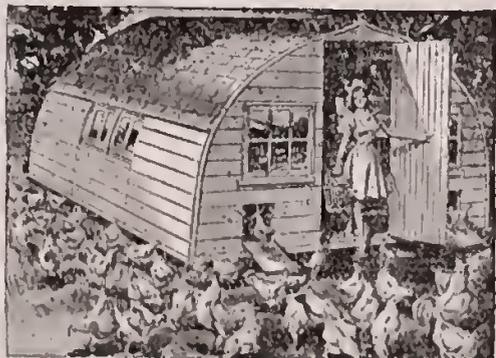


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PRITTLE PRATTLE

SOME OF THOSE TYPOGRAPHS chewed and swallowed a cipher—reducing the number of volumes owned by the County Library from 10,000 to 1,000—as stated in your heading for the Bookmobile article in last week's Independent. Thank goodness you vanquished the typogremms before they reached the palatable numerals in the article itself. 1,500 books would hardly take care of the hungry mob of readers I have in the county.

I NOTE THAT YOU HAVE rather extended me an invitation through your Prittle Prattle column to turn backward a few years and say something about the baseball teams that I managed. Whether you realize it or not, that has been nigh on to 35 years ago. I do recall, however, that the mainstays on our pitching staff were Steve "Tin Bill" Lewis and Harold "Pud" Haugh. My brother Jimbo did most of the catching. Others on the team were Babe and Oriel Hughes, Gail and Clyde Butt, Chuck Sayre, Benton Searfoss, Don Crawford, Bert and Dave Dressback, Ernest "Tack" Palmer. As a team, I don't know whether they would be any match for some of the teams you mentioned or not, but I would still take a large gamble that they would. Without doubt I have omitted the names of many of our good boys, but I assure you it is purely unintentional.

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 R. A. (Mark) WRIGHT,
 5460 Eighth Ave.,
 Los Angeles, 43, Calif.

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MRS. O. E. COLE TELLS US that they gave Mr and Mrs. Glenn Myers their cat.

OUR SOLDIER BOYS ARE coming home each day from various theaters of war activities. Friday afternoon Roy Kibler and Day

The

A LOCAL NEWS

Volume Sixty-one

Lt. C. E. Smith Among First To Enter Tokyo

Tokyo Bay, Japan,
 11 September, 1945.

Dear Folks,
 Yesterday Al, two other fellows and I went to Tokyo. We were the first from our ship to go and among the first of the Navy to get that far. It is about 50 miles from the landing at Yokosuka Naval Base. There is an electric train all the way. I will try to tell you all about our trip.

We left the ship at 9 a. m. On the way in to the landing we passed close aboard the NAGATO, a Japanese battleship, the only one remaining afloat. It looks like a floating junk yard. Quite a contrast to the USS SOUTH DAKOTA which was about 200 yards away.

When we got to the landing we almost got in the way of the Admiral who had approached from behind us in his barge. It was Admiral Halsey. We were about 10 feet from him when he got out of his barge. We saluted and he returned it. That is the only time I have ever met him face to face. The Yokosuka Naval Base appeared to be quite modern in some respects, cranes, drydocks etc, but, of course, it is now deserted except for a few G I's stationed around as guards. We did not stop to look around but just passed thru. The guard at the gate said we needed a pass to get by so we went to the Security officer to get one. We knew there was little chance for we had no reason except curiosity. However we found that officers were not supposed to need passes to get out of the yard. We continued and set the guard straight. The railway station was about a mile from the gate.

When trying to negotiate for tickets a Jap came up who spoke some English and offered to help. He told us we need not buy a ticket but instead just fill out a blank. We did and it cost us nothing. The railwag cars were very similar to the subways in New York. At times they seemed to be more crowded. As one fellow said we destroyed too many trains and not enough Japs. There were a lot of wrecked and burned trains on sidings all along the way.

The desolation and devastation wrought by our bombing was terrific. There were acres and acres of land where once had been factories that now is nothing but rubble. The smoke stacks and the metal machinery that was in them is the only evidence remaining of what was once there. Tokyo itself must be more than 50 per cent destroyed. There are very few stores that remain open and they have nothing of value to offer. There is very little that I even felt was worth carrying home as a souvenir. One might think that in Japan you could buy something made of silk. There is nothing. You mention "kimono" the the Jap word for clothing and they laugh at you and move their hand back and forth in front of their faces—their way of saying "No."

The people are poor. One wonders how they could even dream of taking on a big and powerful nation like ours and come even close to licking us. They must have very little to eat for nearly all look sickly and weak. I didn't see a single person with any fat on him. Their clothes are mostly rags and are made from the cheapest material. Those that do have clothes made of better material apparently have been saving their

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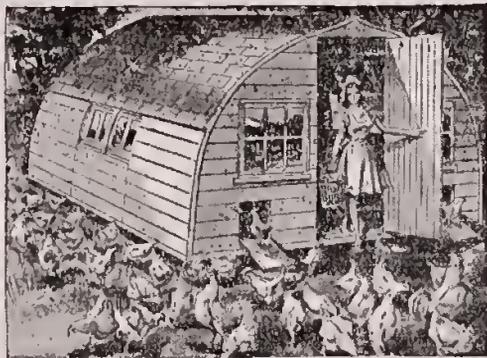
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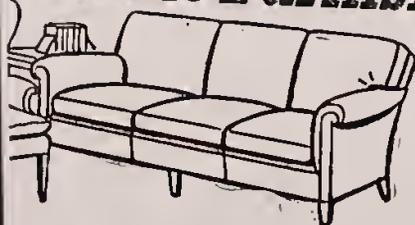
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● OUR SOLDIER BOYS ARE coming home each day from various theaters of war activities. Friday afternoon Roy Kibler and Ralph Priest spent an hour chatting with the writer in our spacious and elaborate front office. Nobody knows except the boys what "Sheol" they went through. We're for you, boys.

Gone To Charlotte North Carolina Via Bus

Roy Kibler received a telephone call from Capt. Nelson Kibler of Charlotte, N. C. Friday asking him to come South. Roy left via bus Friday night.

FOOTBALL SCHEDULE

Oct. 12—Johnstown at Granville.
Oct. 19—Utica, here.
Oct. 23—Grade Operetta 4, 5, 6.
Oct. 25—Hebron, here (Thursday).
Oct. 26—Teachers' Meeting at Utica.
Nov. 2—Johnstown at Pataskala.
Nov. 16—Senior Play.

It is about 50 miles from the landing at Yokosuka Naval Base. There is an electric train all the way. I will try to tell you all about our trip.

We left the ship at 9 a. m. On the way in to the landing we passed close aboard the NAGATO, a Japanese battleship, the only one remaining afloat. It looks like a floating junk yard. Quite a contrast to the USS SOUTH DAKOTA which was about 200 yards away.

When we got to the landing we almost got in the way of the Admiral who had approached from behind us in his barge. It was Admiral Halsey. We were about 10 feet from him when he got out of his barge. We saluted and he returned it. That is the only time I have ever met him face to face. The Yokosuka Naval Base appeared to be quite modern in some respects, eranes, drydocks etc, but, of course, it is now deserted except for a few G I's stationed around as guards. We did not stop to look around but just passed thru. The guard at the gate said we needed a pass to get by so we went to the Security officer to get one. We knew there was little chance for we had no reason except curiosity. However we found that officers were not supposed to need passes to get out of the yard. We continued and set the guard straight. The railway station was about a mile from the gate.

When trying to negotiate for tickets a Jap came up who spoke some English and offered to help. He told us we need not buy a ticket but instead just fill out a blank. We did and it cost us nothing. The railway cars were very similar to the subways in New York. At times they seemed to be more crowded. As one fellow said we destroyed too many trains and not enough Japs. There were a lot of wrecked and burned trains on sidings all along the way.

The desolation and devastation wrought by our bombing was terrific. There were acres and acres of land where once had been factories that now is nothing but rubble. The smoke stacks and the metal machinery that was in them is the only evidence remaining of what was once there. Tokyo itself must be more than 50 per cent destroyed. There are very few stores that remain open and they have nothing of value to offer. There is very little that I even felt was worth carrying home as a souvenir. One might think that in Japan you could buy something made of silk. There is nothing. You mention "kimono" the the Jap word for clothing and they laugh at you and move their hand back and forth in front of their faces—their way of saying "No."

The people are poor. One wonders how they could even dream of taking on a big and powerful nation like ours and come even close to licking us. They must have very little to eat for nearly all look sickly and weak. I didn't see a single person with any fat on him. Their clothes are mostly rags and are made from the cheapest material. Those that do have clothes made of better material apparently have been saving their prewar clothes for they are threadbare. Nearly all women wear a garment which is a cross between coveralls and pajamas. The legs are rather full and the top has some folds around that I haven't been able to figure out. Some have American style shoes or boots but most have wooden sandals. They are held on by a cord which comes up between the big toe and the one next to it splits and is fastened at either side of the heel. The wearer apparently squeezes the toes together to hold it on. Most of those who wear sandals have no socks, others have socks like mittens with the big toe separate. Even some of their shoes are made that way.

The men all wear shirt and trousers, some with coats. Over half the men were still in uniform, army or navy. All men wear caps. Women carry their babies on their backs papoose fashion. Everything else is carried on the back too. I saw even old grey haired women carry loads that

(Continued on last page)

Lt. Smith

(Continued from page one).

looked twice as heavy as they were. The straps of these heavy loads criss-cross across their chest. Maybe that is the reason all the women are so flat chested.

Most of the 50 miles to Tokyo was thru factory and built up districts. Some however was rural. What I saw there proves what I already knew that the Jap is one of the most meticulous gardeners in the world. There were some beautiful gardens everywhere. They don't waste a foot of ground. Many vegetables they were growing were familiar but some were not. Most of the ground was planted in rice. It is not long 'til harvest now and it looked good. Even if they have a good harvest it won't be more than enough to feed the many who live in the rural area.

Most of the houses I saw were the worst kind of ramshackle huts, at least from the outside. They all followed the same pattern. They were very open, sliding panels instead of doors. The floor was raised a foot or so off the ground and covered with a fiber matting. Everyone takes off his shoes when he enters. They recline or squat to eat. They either have the bowls on the floor or on a very low table. I saw many eating this way from the train as we went by.

There were a few American made cars around. They all looked like they were about to fall apart. Most of the vehicles were horse drawn, some had cattle hitched to them and others were rickshaws. We walked. Remembering that Tokyo was the 3rd largest city in the world before the war we could not expect to see much of it on foot. We did see the Emperor's Palace. It was surrounded by a stone wall and was on a hill inside of that. We could not go in for it was guarded. The guards each had a large sword. I believe the kind called samurai. All policemen had the same. No one had any other arms.

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I expect you have a lot of questions. I will try to answer them all when I get home. I hope that is not too long from now. We expect to start back in about a week.

Be seeing you soon,
Love to all,
Charlie Smith.

Card of Thanks

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We wish to thank all those who sent cards, letters, candy and flowers, also the W. S. C. S. of Liberty church and many friends for their lovely gifts to us during our stay at the hospital.

Mrs. Geo. Gosnell and Nellie Kay

APPLETON

A good number attended Rally Day services here Sunday.

Mrs. Ella James and Mrs. Lulu Woodbury spent one day the past week with Mrs. Nettie Hatch.

Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Crottinger entertained their Farm Bureau Council group Monday evening.

Mr. and Mrs. John Miles at-

tended a dinner Sunday at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Francis Milum.

Mrs. Ida Brandon, who has spent the summer with her daughter, Mrs. Harvey Peters left Sunday to spend the winter with her son Greenville.

Advertising Pays

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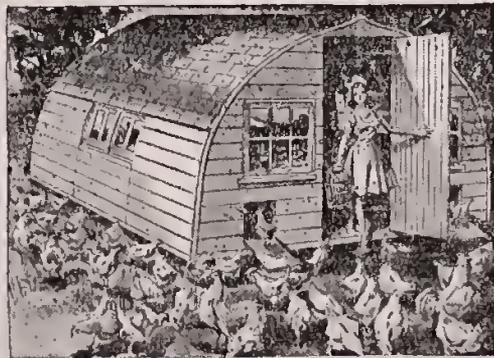


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SEARS NEW HANGAR TYPE PREFABRICATED POULTRY AND BROODER HOUSES



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Tongue and groove assembled floor. Cut to exact measurements, insuring perfect fit.

Easy to erect—two men can assemble a building in two hours.

Delivered with assembled sash, ventilation door and necessary hardware. Painted, ready for roofing. Use roll or shingle type roofing.

Add-to sections available in 4 ft. widths. Make building any size.

Minimum Down Payment — Long Term Credit

12'x8' HOUSE \$158.00 12'x12' HOUSE \$206.00

4'x12' Add-to Section. No Windows \$47.50

4'x12' Add-to Section. With Window \$51.25

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SEARS

36 S. 4TH ST.
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OPEN 9:30-5:30
SATURDAY 9:30 to 9

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PRITTLE PRATTLE

SOME OF THOSE TYPOGRAPHERS chewed and swallowed a cipher—reducing the number of volumes owned by the County Library from 10,000 to 1,500—as stated in your heading for the Bookmobile article in last week's Independent. Thank goodness you vanquished the typogremms before they reached the palatable numerals in the article itself. 1,500 books would hardly take care of the hungry mob of readers I have in the county.

I NOTE THAT YOU HAVE rather extended me an invitation through your Prittle Prattle column to turn backward a few years and say something about the baseball teams that I managed. Whether you realize it or not, that has been nigh on to 35 years ago. I do recall, however, that the mainstays on our pitching staff were Steve "Tin Bill" Lewis and Harold "Pud" Haugh. My brother Jimbo did most of the catching. Others on the team were Babe and Oriel Hughes, Gail and Clyde Butt, Chuck Sayre, Benton Searfoss, Don Crawford, Bert and Dave Dressback, Ernest "Tack" Palmer. As a team, I don't know whether they would be any match for some of the teams you mentioned or not, but I would still take a large gamble that they would. Without doubt I have omitted the names of many of our good boys, but I assure you it is purely unintentional.

Sincerely and fraternally,
R. A. (Mark) WRIGHT,
5460 Eighth Ave.,
Los Angeles, 43, Calif.

WELL, THE CARNIVAL IS over. Everybody seemed to enjoy themselves even if the weatherman did set up some. Old man Sol peeped through now and then, but for the most part it was gloomy.

NO DOUBT THE LEGION boys and the Volunteer Firemen garnered some funds which will be used judiciously for the betterment of Johnstown and community.

IT SEEMS THAT MOST PEOPLE like to lay off dull cares now and then and enjoy a little out-of-the-ordinary fun, hence the carnival.

THE YOUNG WOMAN THAT had the milk bottle stand was there when it came to knocking off those bottles. She did not have stiff-arm like most women when it came to throwing. Seldom did she fail to knock all the bottles down. Practice makes perfect.

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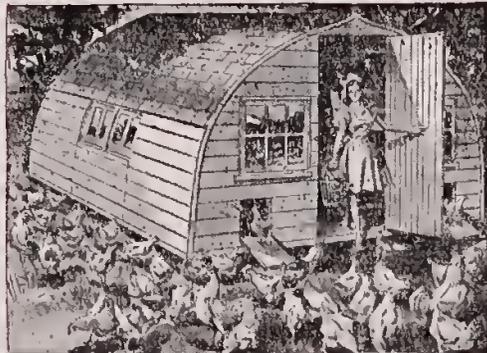
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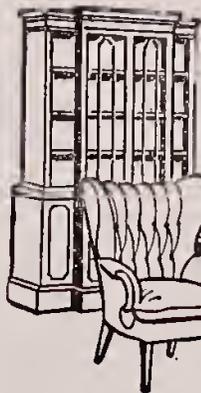
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NEWARK

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(Subject to Government Regulations)

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● OUR SOLDIER BOYS ARE coming home each day from various theaters of war activities. Friday afternoon Roy Kibler and Ralph Priest spent an hour chatting with the writer in our spacious and elaborate front office. Nobody knows except the boys what "Sheel" they went through. We're for you, boys.

Gone To Charlotte North Carolina Via Bus

Roy Kibler received a telephone call from Capt. Nelson Kibler of Charlotte, N. C. Friday asking him to come South. Roy left via bus Friday night.

FOOTBALL SCHEDULE

Oct. 12—Johstown at Granville.
Oct. 19—Utica, here.
Oct. 23—Grade Operetta 4, 5, 6.
Oct. 25—Hebron, here (Thursday).
Oct. 26—Teachers' Meeting at Utica.
Nov. 2—Johnstown at Pataskala.
Nov. 16—Senior Play.



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Third line of handwritten text, possibly a date or a specific reference.

Fourth line of handwritten text, appearing to be a paragraph or a list of items.

Fifth line of handwritten text, possibly a signature or a name.

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To the Korean Compatriots,
The Missionaries to Korea, and
To the Friends of Korean-American Culture

March, 1946

Dear Friend:

This booklet is a copy of my recent article on "The Horizontal Spelling System of the Korean Alphabet," which, by request, I prepared for the Remington Rand Inc., in relation with the possible manufacturing of the Korean typewriter. As you may know, it is an indisputable fact that every Korean is proud of our Great King Sejong's wonderful invention of the world's best alphabet five centuries ago. Unfortunately, however, the wrong advice of Whang-Chan, a Chinese scholar who had been in exile at the eastern border of China, spoiled our King's fundamental principle of SIMPLICITY, when the new Korean phonetic symbols which should be as easy to learn as possible were obliged to put on the old garment of Chinese ideograph which is the most difficult to learn in the world. Still more regrettable was the fact that the old habit of worshipping Chinese literature unconditionally, - which we call the blind "Chinolatry" - vehemently denounced this great invention, hated the unfamiliar new writing, and persecuted the alphabet as a heretical device against the Confucian tradition. For many times the miserably intoxicated Korean scholars entreated the King to give up the movement of spreading the new alphabet and to forbid its use among the people. But the wise king never accepted such fools' counsel. And at the same time, the ass-headed so-called scholars tenaciously continued their opposition to the new alphabet. Since then until as late as the present century, many of the dogged, muddle-headed Korean Confucianists had called this marvellous alphabet "The False Writing," (假書, 가술), or, "The Dog's Writing" (개술), while they called the Chinese ideograph "The True Writing" (眞書, 진서). O, what a sinful blind Chinolatry it was!

But to our hearty congratulations, the Christian missionaries came to Korea and spread the Korean alphabet throughout the country, which is one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of the Christian missionary work in Korea. Since then even among the old Confucianists, the despising nomenclature - The False or Dog's Writing - has been gradually disappeared, and a milder name - "The Spoken Writing" (言文, 언문), was dubbed. Still, however, the alphabetic symbols were merely good for the vulgar tongue, and were not quite respectable enough to be used for any classical writing. But later, since the time of the Great Upheaval of the national spirit in 1919, all the educated Koreans, now, call it "The National Letters" (國文, 국문), or, "The Great Alphabet" (한글).

Thus, when we look back into the history of the Korean alphabet, every lover of our culture will surely regret the fact that the hackneyed advice of the Chinese scholar put the fool's cap on the head of the new alphabet, and the short-sighted pedants' opposition chained it and tied it in the dungeon. Truly, it is a great tragico-comedy in our cultural history that our new phonetic alphabet should be obliged to be appalled with the most complicated Chinese ideographic garment! Moreover, Such a pseudo-ideographic clownish make-up of the King's alphabet is not only a mockery to the ingenious spirit of the Great King Sejong, but it has been a great fetter and a stumbling block to an easy learning and to the more scientific development of our civilization.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It is essential for the company to have a clear and concise record of all financial activities, including sales, purchases, and expenses. This information is used to prepare financial statements and to provide a basis for decision-making.

The second part of the document describes the various methods used to collect and analyze data. These methods include surveys, interviews, and focus groups. Each method has its own strengths and weaknesses, and it is important to choose the right method for the specific research question.

The third part of the document discusses the importance of data analysis. This involves identifying patterns and trends in the data, and using statistical techniques to test hypotheses. Data analysis is a critical step in the research process, as it allows researchers to draw conclusions from their data.

The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of reporting the results of the research. This involves writing a clear and concise report that summarizes the findings of the study. The report should include an executive summary, an introduction, a literature review, a methodology section, a results section, and a conclusion.

The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of ethical considerations in research. Researchers must always be aware of the potential for harm to participants, and must take steps to minimize this risk. This includes obtaining informed consent from participants, and ensuring that the research is conducted in a fair and unbiased manner.

Fortunately, however, through the suggestion made by the officers in the Education Department of the American Military Government in Korea, the Remington Rand Inc. has been studying how could a Korean typewriter be manufactured most scientifically for the practical purpose, since the old Korean typewriters are too impracticable for the actual daily use. Thereupon, I, after a long study, much debate, and many sleepless nights' meditation, was finally convinced that the "Horizontal Spelling System" (*한글가로쓰기*) which was once staged on the Korean public a long time ago by the leading Korean educationists, is the best solution not only for the perfection of the mechanism, but also for an easy learning of the Korean alphabet to the beginners; and again that it is the most scientific system in the philological development, and also is very advantageous for the practical contribution to our daily life. Therefore, when I recommended this system to the experts of the company, they all unanimously praised the simplicity, versatility, and the linguistic perfection of our alphabet, and they promised me that if I could get the support from many Korean intellectuals, the Missionaries to Korea, and a permission from the A.M.G. in Korea, they would manufacture it, not only for their company's sake, but also for the advancement of the Korean culture. We are grateful to the Remington Company for their kind pledge on this adventurous enterprise.

Therefore, I sincerely desire you to read the booklet thoroughly with care and zeal for our cultural advancement, and to write me soon expressing your opinion about it; preferably about some constructive plans how to develop this movement most effectively, most widely and speedily among Koreans. And not only a hearty approval, but also even a bitterly opposing opinion would be equally desirable, provided it is not argument for argument's sake, but is based upon profoundly scientific reasons.

May God bless you and your country
for the human welfare's sake !

Very sincerely yours,



(John Starr Kim
134 Central Avenue
Madison, New Jersey)

"THE HORIZONTAL SPELLING SYSTEM OF THE KOREAN ALPHABET"

By John Starr Kim

(I) INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Dr. Laubach, the greatest leader of the present world literacy movement, says that Korean Alphabet is the most scientific and the easiest to learn, and yet, the most versatile alphabet he has ever known throughout the world. The truth of this statement is proved by all the missionaries to Korea, and by every one who knows something about it. Nevertheless, there is one great handicap in the way in which its parts are constructed, and on account of which it is prevented from being more widely popularized among the foreigners as well as the Korean beginners.

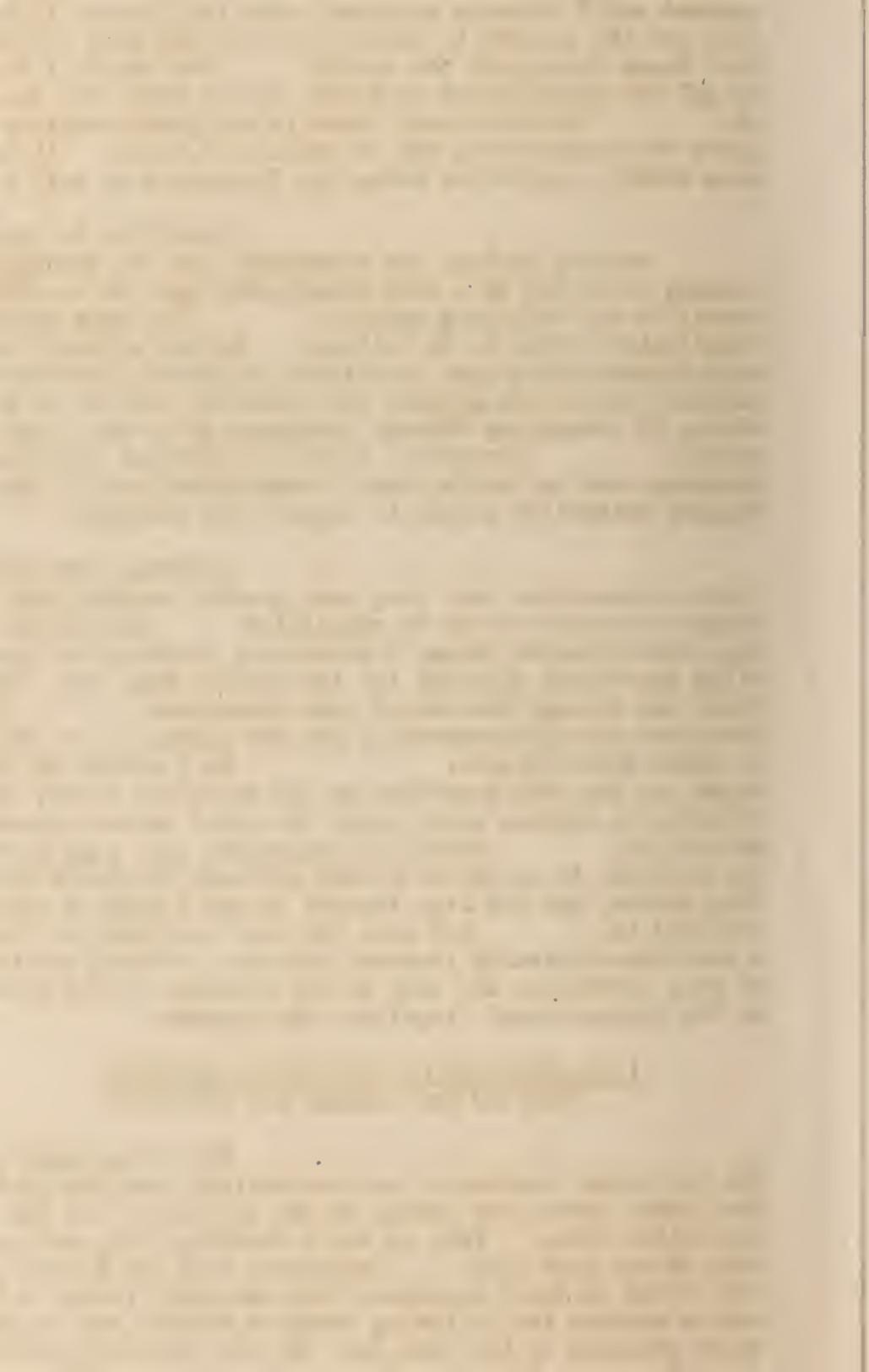
According to the conventional, vertical writing system, the consonants and the vowels join together not in an orderly line, but in a very complicated way, as we will discuss about it in detail in the following chapter. The main reason for such a purposely complicated device is as follows:- Korean scholars have long been acquainted with Chinese ideographs from their childhood, therefore, although the Korean alphabet is not ideographic but phonetic, when it is written in the Chinese style, it resembling Chinese ideograph gives more familiarity to the Korean reader. Therefore, if the prejudicial predilection for the Chinese ideogram were put aside, such a complicated way of spelling would have no weighty scientific ground to support its validity.

Besides, even the Chinese scholars and leaders themselves have long been greatly puzzled with the problem how the Chinese character could be simplified. And in the result, a few years ago, Generalissimo Chiang's Government invented new phonetic symbols resembling the Korean alphabet for the popular use, and they are now enforcing their use through the school text-books, etc. In Japan also, there have been strong movements to cut the number of the Chinese characters down to three thousand only. As a matter of fact, China, Korea, and Japan are the only countries in the world who write, oddly enough, vertically, from top to bottom, while whole the world writes crosswise which is more scientific. Therefore, some time ago, many Korean leaders started the movement to write the Korean alphabet crosswise with the Horizontal Spelling System, but the Japs thought it was a kind of patriotic movement, and hindered it. But now, the time has come for the free Korea to start a most scientifically improved system of writing the Korean alphabet so that it may contribute not only to the progress of the Korean culture, but also to the international linguistic development.

(II) ADVANTAGE OF "HORIZONTAL SPELLING"

(Old and New systems are compared)

The Pedagogical Psychology proves that the horizontal reading is more scientific than the vertical reading, because the former needs less strain on the eye nerves and the neck muscles, etc. than the latter does. That is why a standing flag pole appears longer than when it was laid down. Therefore, even the Korean students, when they take notes in their colleges, they naturally prefer a horizontal writing. Let us examine the following examples without any prejudice. They are the clear evidence of the fact that the old vertical spelling system is so inconvenient, unscientific, and unnecessarily complicate.



(A) EXAMPLES OF THE OLD SYSTEM

(i) Composites of TWO parts:- When the consonant "ㅂ" is con-
joined with the vowel "ㅏ", the spelling order is as follows:

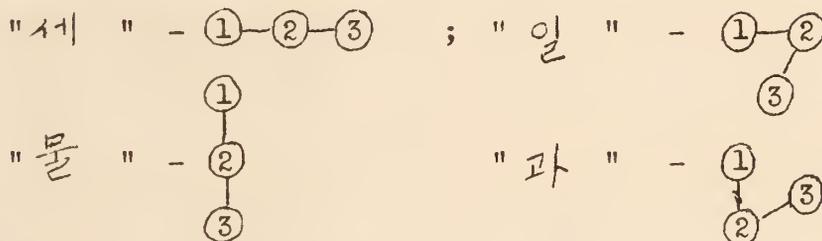


But, when "ㅂ" meets "ㅑ", a different order is required:

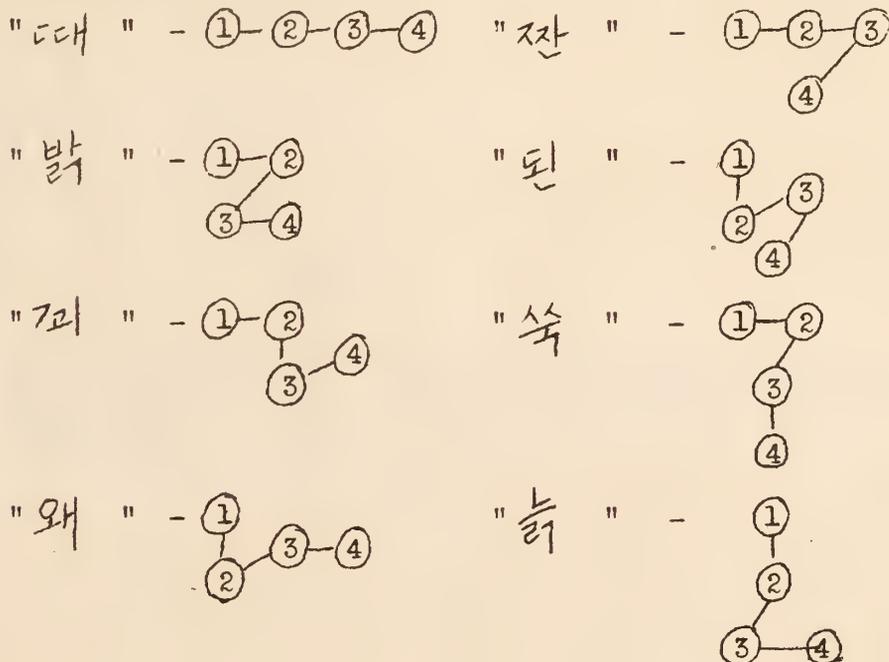


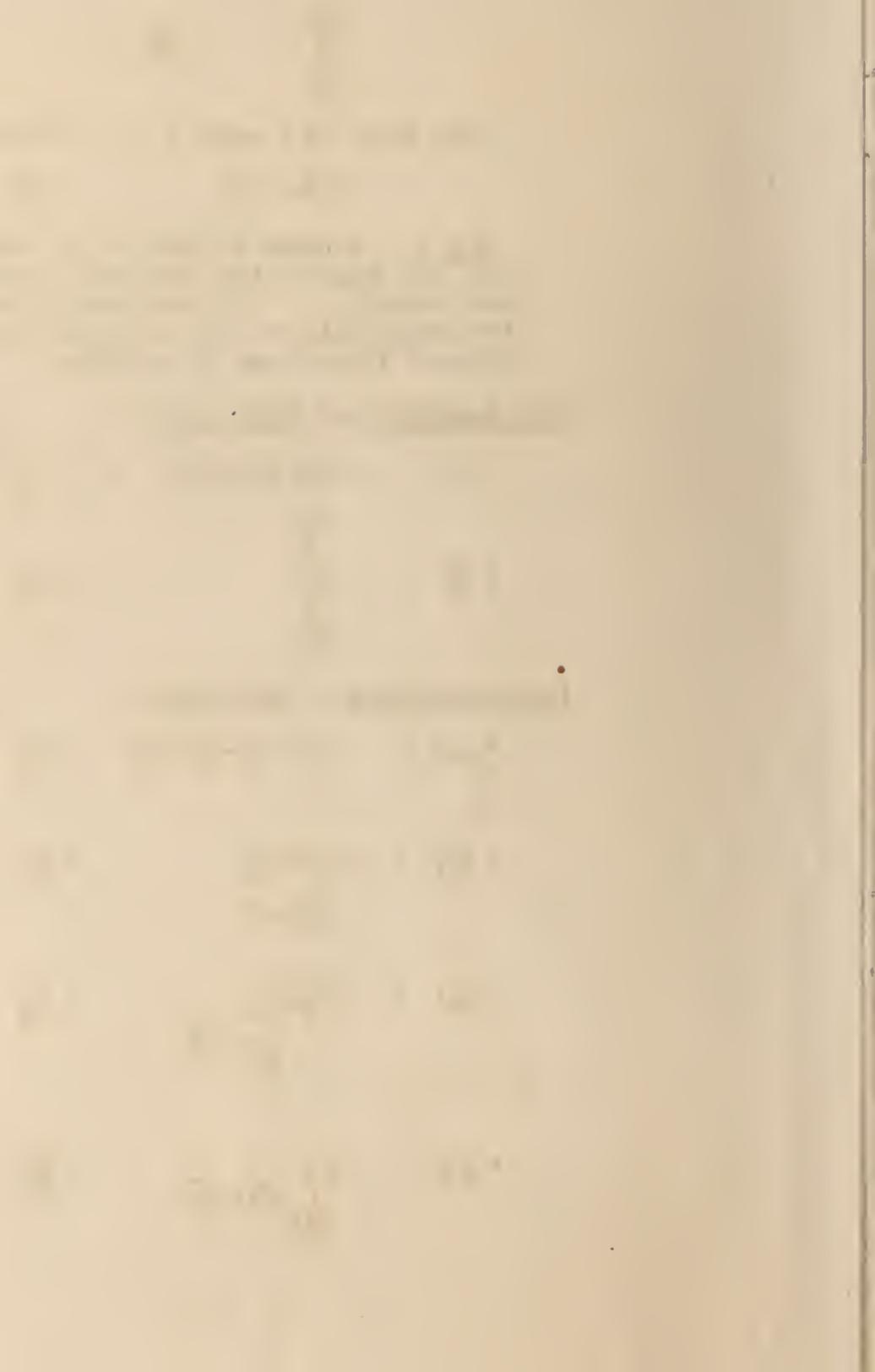
Why? - Because in each of the case, in its own peculiar way, the shape of the composite resembles a Chinese character more closely. Further more, in the following examples the reader will readily notice the complexity and inconvenience of the old way of spelling:

(ii) Composites of THREE parts:

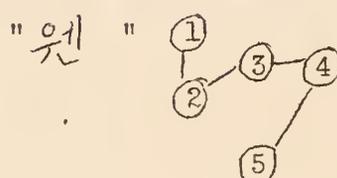
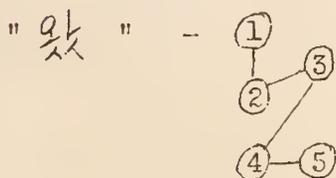
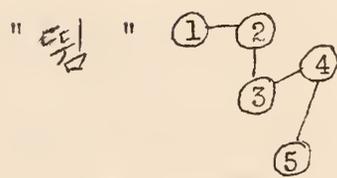
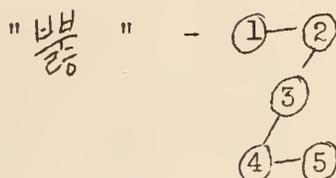
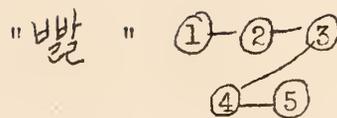
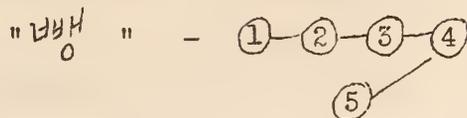


(iii) Composites of FOUR parts:

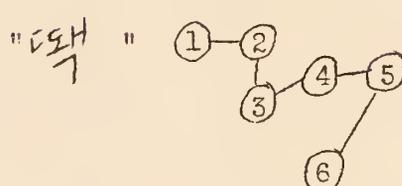
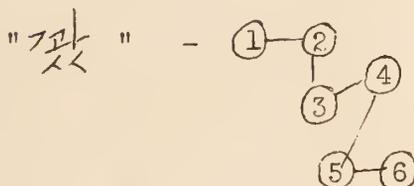
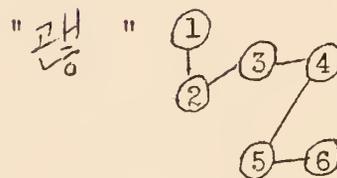
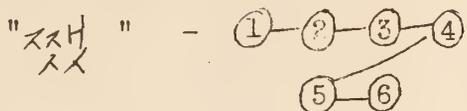




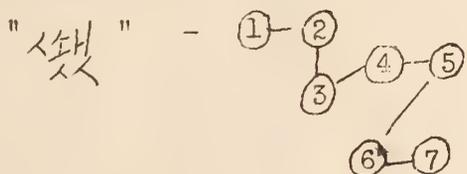
(iv) Composites of FIVE parts:



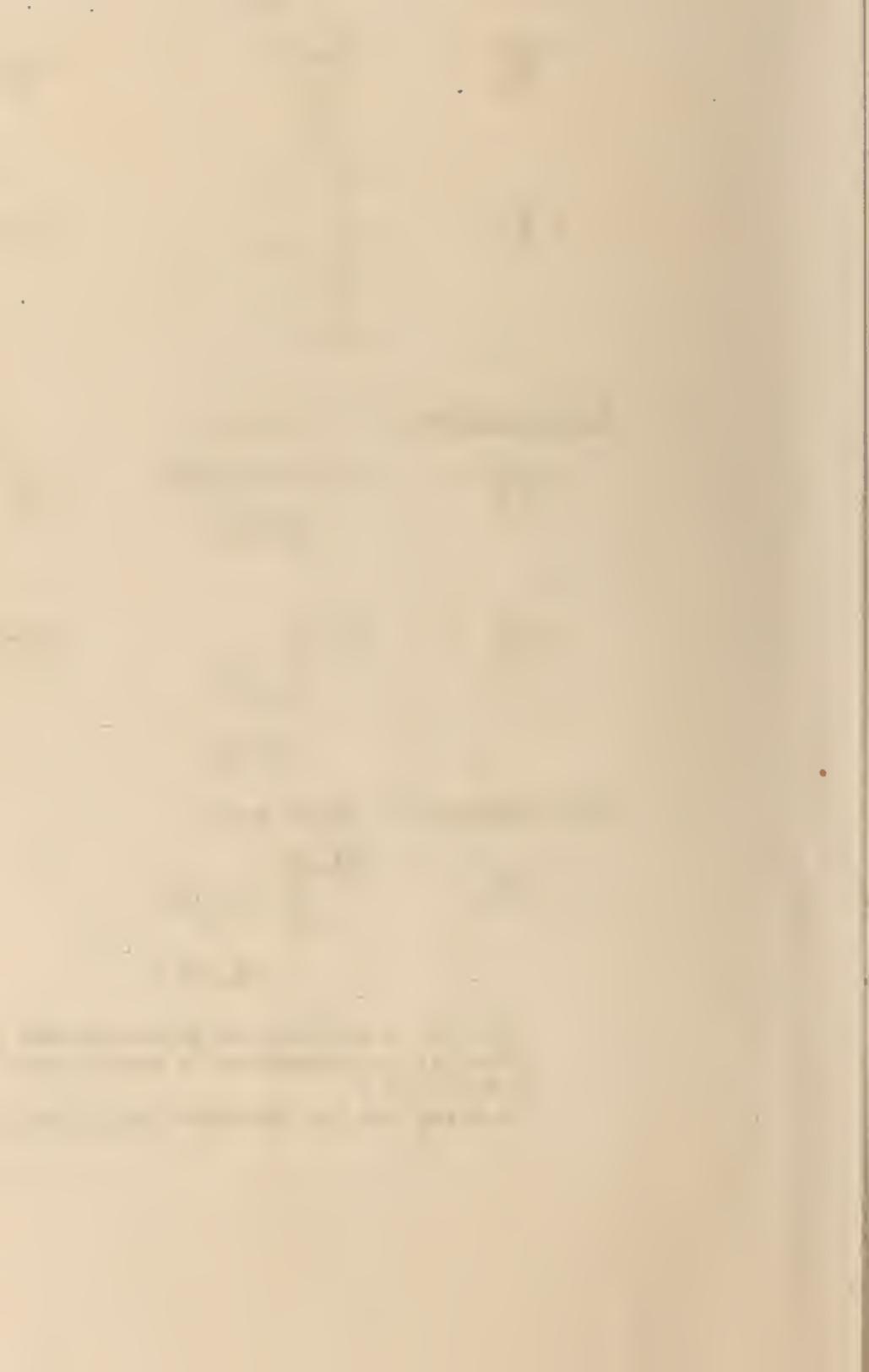
(v) Composites of SIX parts:



(vi) Composite of SEVEN parts:



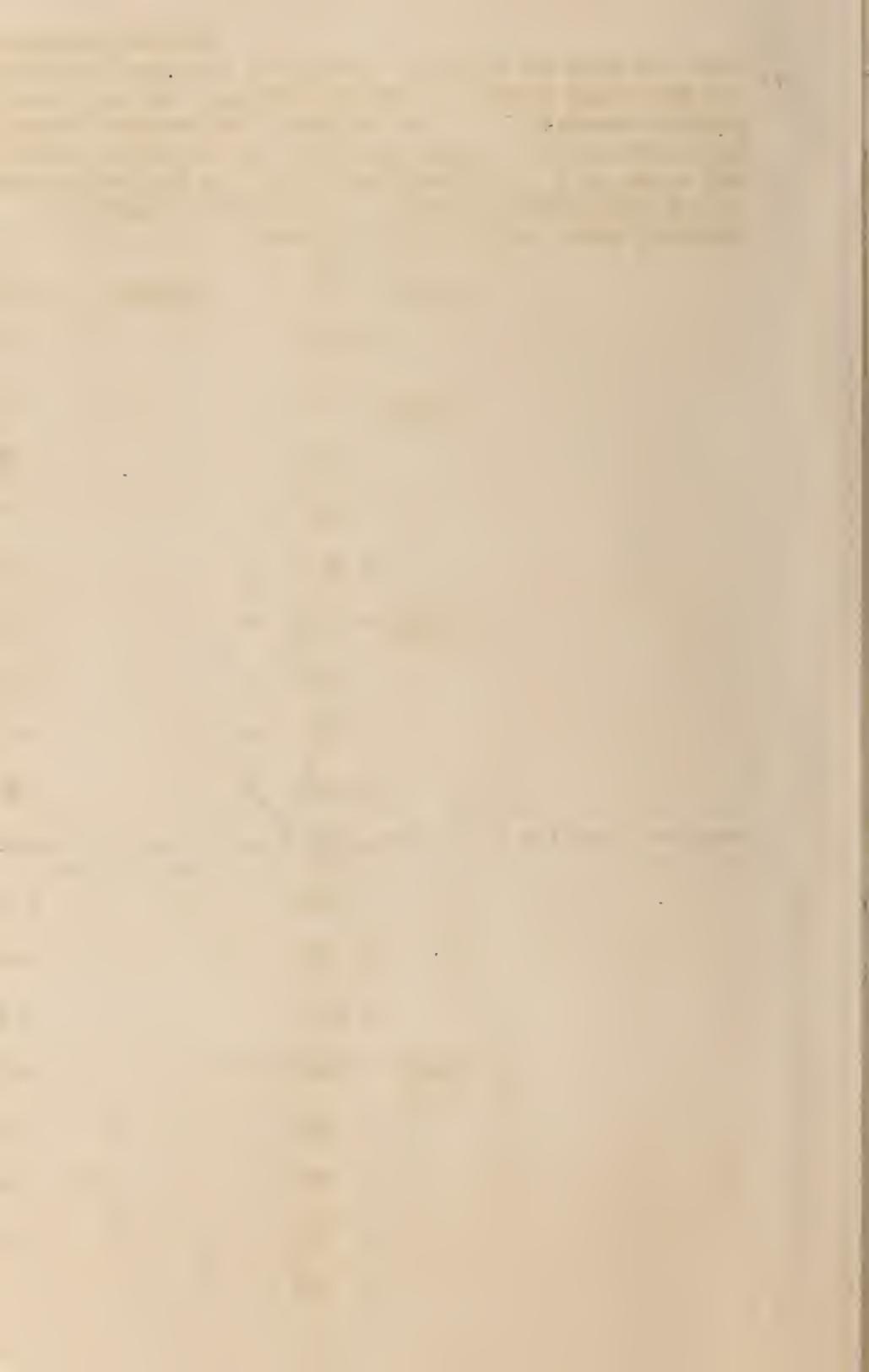
O, what a complicated jigsaw puzzle it is !
 What is the advantage of making such a complicated system
 of spelling ?
 Nothing but the CHINIZED FAMILIARITY !



(B) EXAMPLES OF THE NEW SYSTEM:

Are we courageous and patient enough to cast off such an "Idol of the Cave" (meaning Conventionalism) so that we may see the clear view of a smooth-sailing, and easy-breathing horizon of the linguistic ocean ? - If we adopt the new Horizontal Spelling System", all these complicated jigsaw puzzles, the clownish pseudo-ideographic appearance, and above all, the stumbling block, the hindering enemy to a speedier progress of cur civilization, would completely disappear; then the new scientific spelling order would be as follows:

- | | | | |
|-------|-------|---------|-------|
| (i) | " 부 " | becomes | " 바 " |
| | " 바 " | " | " 바 " |
| (ii) | " 세 " | " | " 세 " |
| | " 과 " | " | " 가 " |
| | " 일 " | " | " 이 " |
| | " 문 " | " | " 문 " |
| (iii) | " 대 " | " | " 대 " |
| | " 발 " | " | " 바 " |
| | " 된 " | " | " 다 " |
| | " 꼬 " | " | " 꼬 " |
| | " 늑 " | " | " 나 " |
| | " 왜 " | " | " 아 " |
| | " 속 " | " | " 사 " |
| | " 잔 " | " | " 자 " |
| (iv) | " 땀 " | " | " 배 " |
| | " 뽕 " | " | " 뽕 " |
| | " 땀 " | " | " 땀 " |
| | " 옷 " | " | " 옷 " |
| | " 땀 " | " | " 땀 " |
| | " 땀 " | " | " 땀 " |



- (v) "판" " " " ㅍㅏㅓ " - ①-②-③-④-⑤-⑥
- "갸" " " " ㅈㅏㅓ " "
- "덧" " " " ㄷㅏㅓ " "
- "뵤" " " " ㅂㅏㅓ " "
- (vi) "ㅅㅏㅓ" " " " ㅅㅏㅓ " - ①-②-③-④-⑤-⑥-⑦

(C) CHINIZATION HAS NO INTRINSIC VALUE BUT SIMPLY FAMILIARITY:-

Some one might argue that the Chinese ideograph-like spelling has an "Intrinsic" value for giving us a pictorial view for a quick grasp of the meaning. In reply to such an imaginary argument, we would like to use the following illustration: - Supposing the arguer to be a Korean who is thoroughly familiarized with the Chinese ideograph, and is less familiar with the English alphabet, we will ask him which of the two different ways of the spelling - one English, the other, Chinese - in the following examples is easier for him to read ?

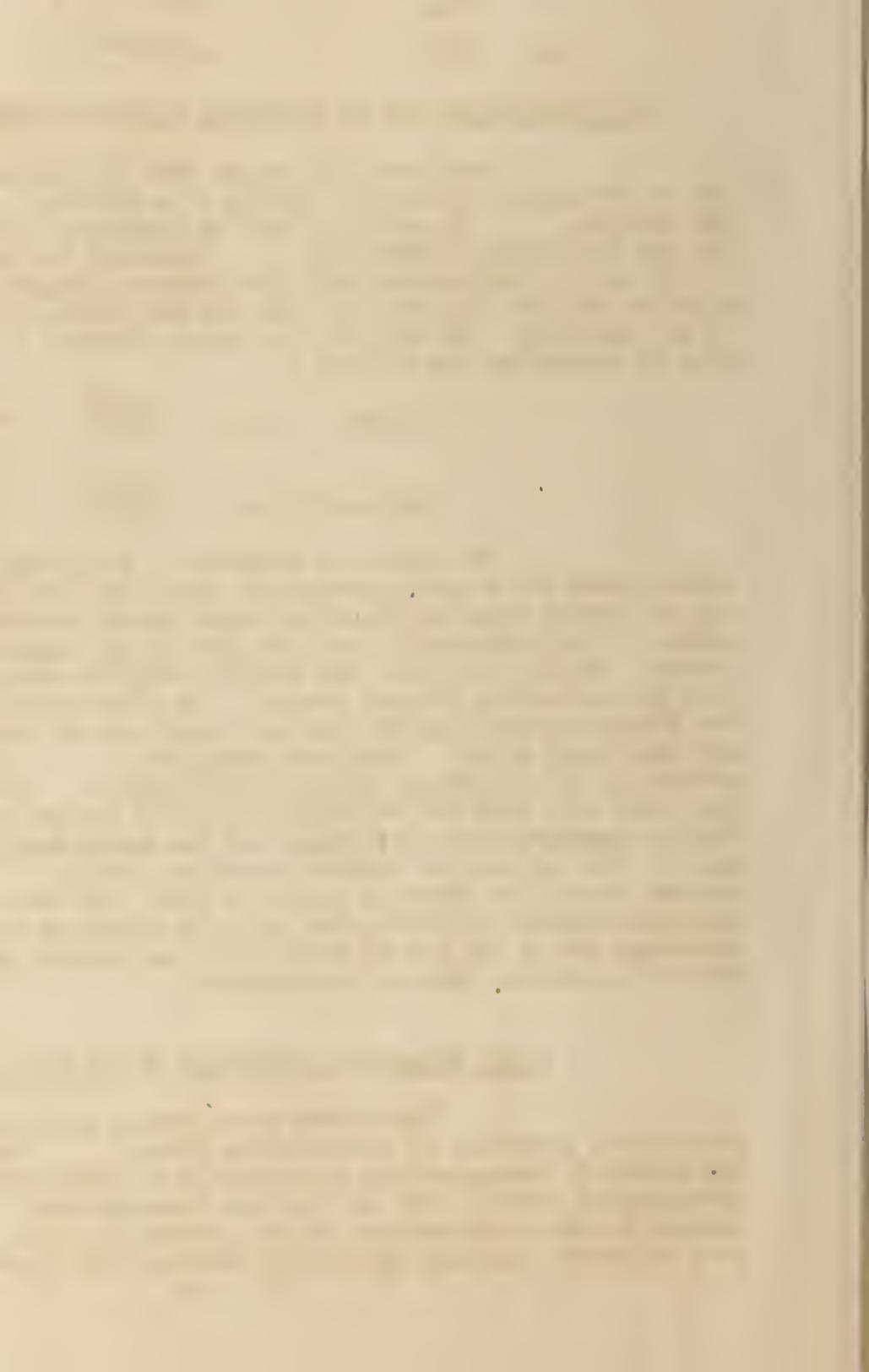
"Right", or, " ㄹㅌㅓ " ?

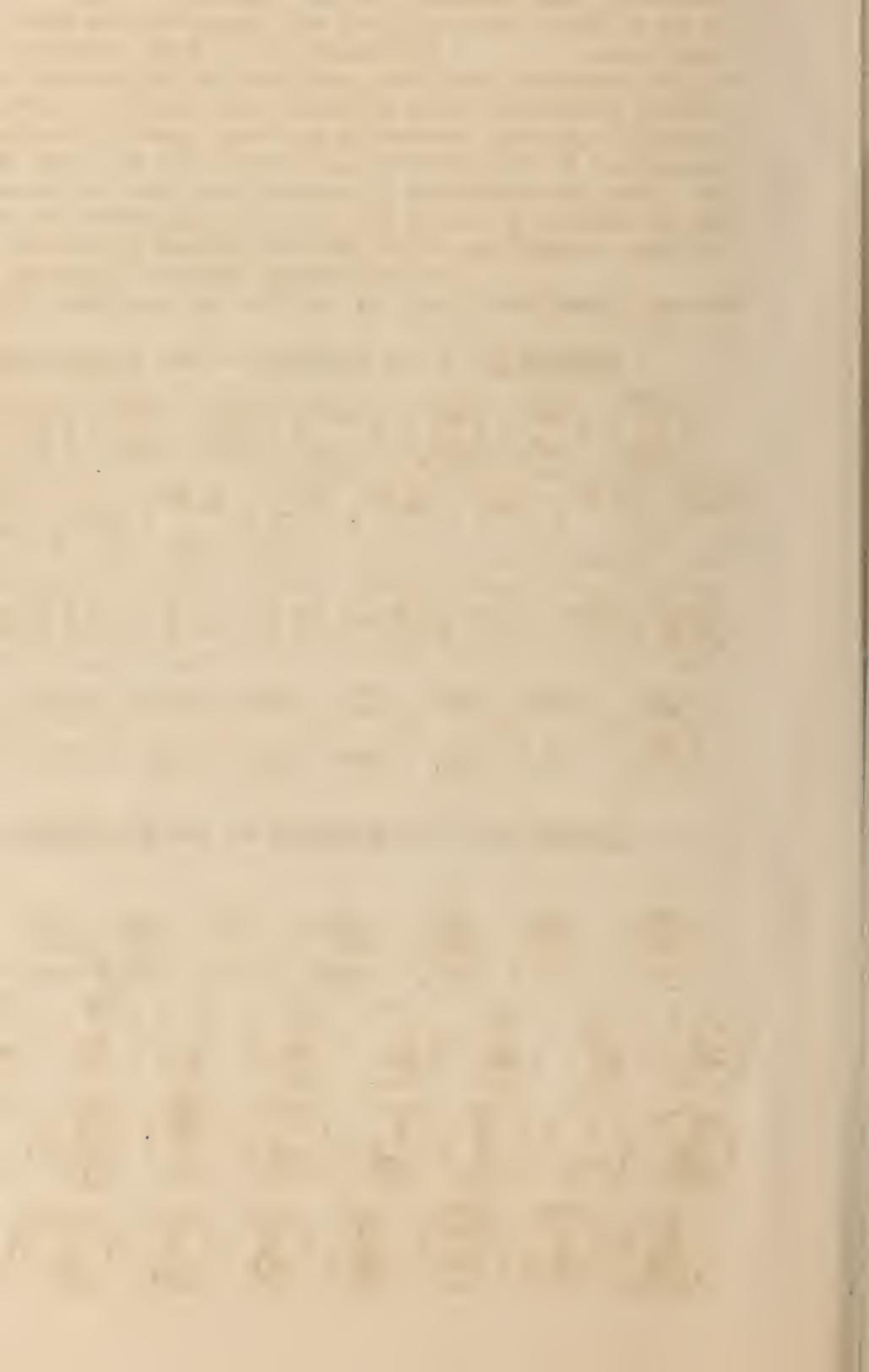
"Alphabet", or, " ㅏㅑㅓ " ?

The answer is obvious. If the Chinese shape has an intrinsic value for a quick perception, then, NOT the first ones (English shape), but the second examples (Chinese shape) should be easier to read than the other. But apparently, our own eyes do not approve any such intrinsic theory. On the contrary, the familiar English shape is much easier to read than the unfamiliar Chinese shape. In other words, even to a Chinese eye, the Chinese shaped English does not appeal at all, because he has never seen any such thing at all - they are unfamiliar. Therefore, the fundamental problem is NOT THE SHAPE, BUT THE FAMILIARITY. So, it is as clear as the day light that when the Horizontal Spelling system is FAMILIARIZED, as the English spelling is to the eye of one who knows English, it would be just as easy to read as the old vertical spelling system. Therefore, if we are patient enough for a certain period of time for the practice of this most scientific Korean alphabet, then not only ourselves would enjoy the abundant advantage out of it, but we could endow our coming generation after generation with an invaluable cultural inheritance.

(III) MECHANICAL ADVANTAGE OF THE NEW SYSTEM

The modern civilization owes its progress chiefly to Gutenberg's invention of the printing press. Likewise, since 1875, when the Messrs E. Remington and sons started to manufacture typewriters, American civilization owes to this new machine tremendously. So, in order to enhance Korean civilization, it is a matter of vital importance to develop more efficient printing and typing machines like those which now Americans use.





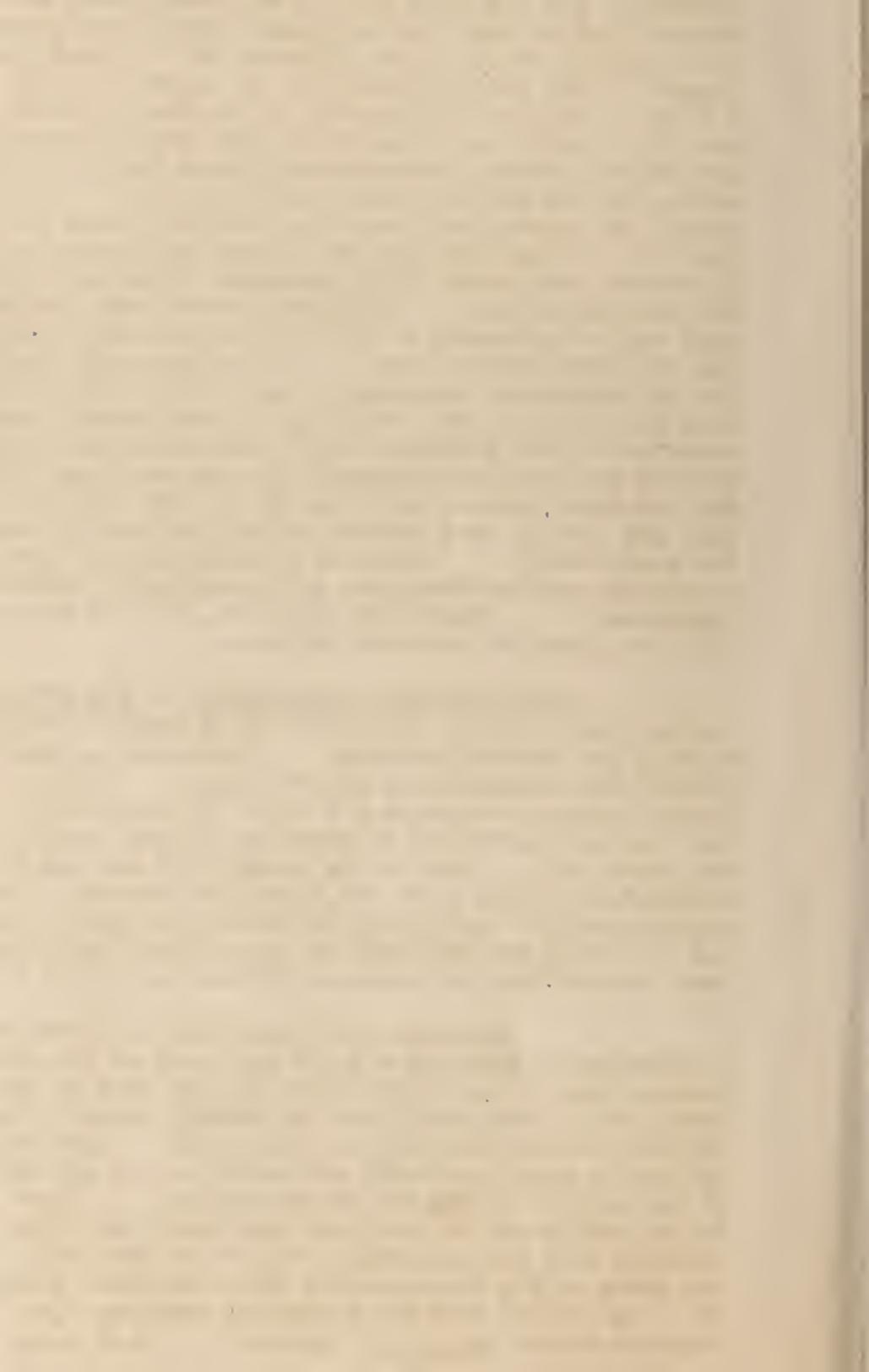
(A) THE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW TYPEWRITERS

(i) SPEEDINESS:- In order to type the Korean sentence, for example:

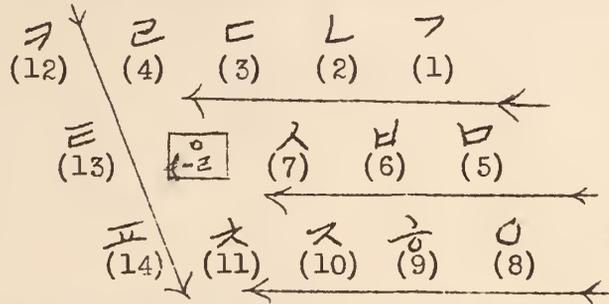
"쟁미곶은 백양게 피엿음니다", the Old Korean typewriter needs, at least, 75 finger movements, every one of which is an attentive and conscious movement; but the worst part of this machine is the utterly confusing keyboard device which we call the most unscientific arrangement. For example, there are five different "ㄴ" s, five different "ㄷ" s, five different "ㄹ" s, five different "ㅈ" s, six different "ㅊ" s, seven different "ㅋ" s, and NINE different "ㄱ" s. So, in order to use "ㄱ", you have to think first which one particular "ㄱ" should be chosen out of the nine different "ㄱ" s. And to make matters still worse, these nine different kind of "ㄱ" s are not located in an order, but are scattered all over the board. So, every time you have to search the keyboard all over very carefully lest you should slap a wrong girl's shoulder, because they are not simply Quintuplets, but are more than Octuplets! Therefore, the number of the movement of the eye-rolling and of the neck-twisting is incalculable. For convenience's sake let us compromise and make it only double the number of the finger movements - that is, 150, without including the brain motion, etc. Then the total figure is 225. In other words, the old typewriter requires at least 225 actions from our bodily organ to type that one sentence out; while by the new Korean typewriter, it needs only 35 conscious finger movements and 11 half-unconscious space-bar touches. And it does not require necessarily any eye movement, because there is only ONE key for each symbol - Not nine "ㄱ" s, but only one "ㄱ", etc. Further more, they are located in a perfect scientific order so that any one could type with his eyes closed. There is no difficulty of searching and identifying the Quintuplets and the Octuplets on the keyboard, because there is no confusion whatsoever. Therefore, in short, the new typewriter is at least FIVE or SIX times speedier than the old one.

(ii) SCIENTIFIC ARRANGEMENT OF THE KEYBOARD:- In the old typewriter, there are 57 consonants and 20 vowels scattered all over the keyboard without any scientific order. Therefore, no prodigy could dare to have them at his fingers' ends all the time. It is a complete taboo to an ordinary person to memorize all their locations, while the scientific TOUCH system typing requires one to memorize all the locations of the letters first and above all. That is why we say that the old typewriter is completely unscientific. (But we do not blame the inventor. On the contrary, we appreciate his effort and his grand motive, and sympathize with him because it is not his fault, but the fault of the vertical spelling system itself. With such an unscientific system, no Edison can invent a scientific typewriter.)

With the New Typewriter, no Korean needs to take more than a few minutes to memorize all the positions of the consonants and the vowels, because they are so conveniently located that to the LEFT side are the CONSONANTS, and to the RIGHT, are the VOWELS, which is the original way of writing, and the philological order of the sound. And further, this new typewriter has not so many consonants and vowels as the old one has, that is, 57 and 20. It has only 10 vowels and 14 consonants. Those ten vowels are arranged in an orderly way to the right hand side, and those fourteen consonants are located, in a most scientific manner, to the left. And again further, the order of the 14 consonants is so carefully considered that they are located in accordance with the rhythmical measure, 4,3; 4,3; of the old Korean Alphabet Poem:- 가나다라 파바사; 아하자차 가타파



Not only that, still further, these consonants are so scientifically arranged that those less using consonants are located at the corner of the keyboard, and those frequently using ones are at the center:-



(The is reserved for the consonants which are usable only for the FOREIGN pronunciation.)

(iii) THE VERSATILITY OF ITS USE:- With the old typewriter Foreign pronunciations can not be described correctly; and although it has Chinese numerals, it can not be used for the BUSINESS record, because for the financial record we do not use the common Chinese numerals but the special kind of monetary numerals like " 壹貳參拾 "; and the old typewriter has no provision for any monetary UNITS, or DATE; no AMERICAN monetary units which will be needed more and more by the Korean business man in the future. This old typewriter can not satisfy any modern writer, because it has neither Arabian Figures, nor Parentheses, nor Question Mark, nor Exclamation Mark, nor Quotation Marks etc., which are most frequently required for the modern writing. And this machine even can not be used for the New HISTORICAL Spelling System (한글신철자법) in a proper shape, because its keyboard has no room to put in those most frequently using double consonants such as "ㅃㅃ ", "ㄸㄸ ", and "ㄴㄴ ".

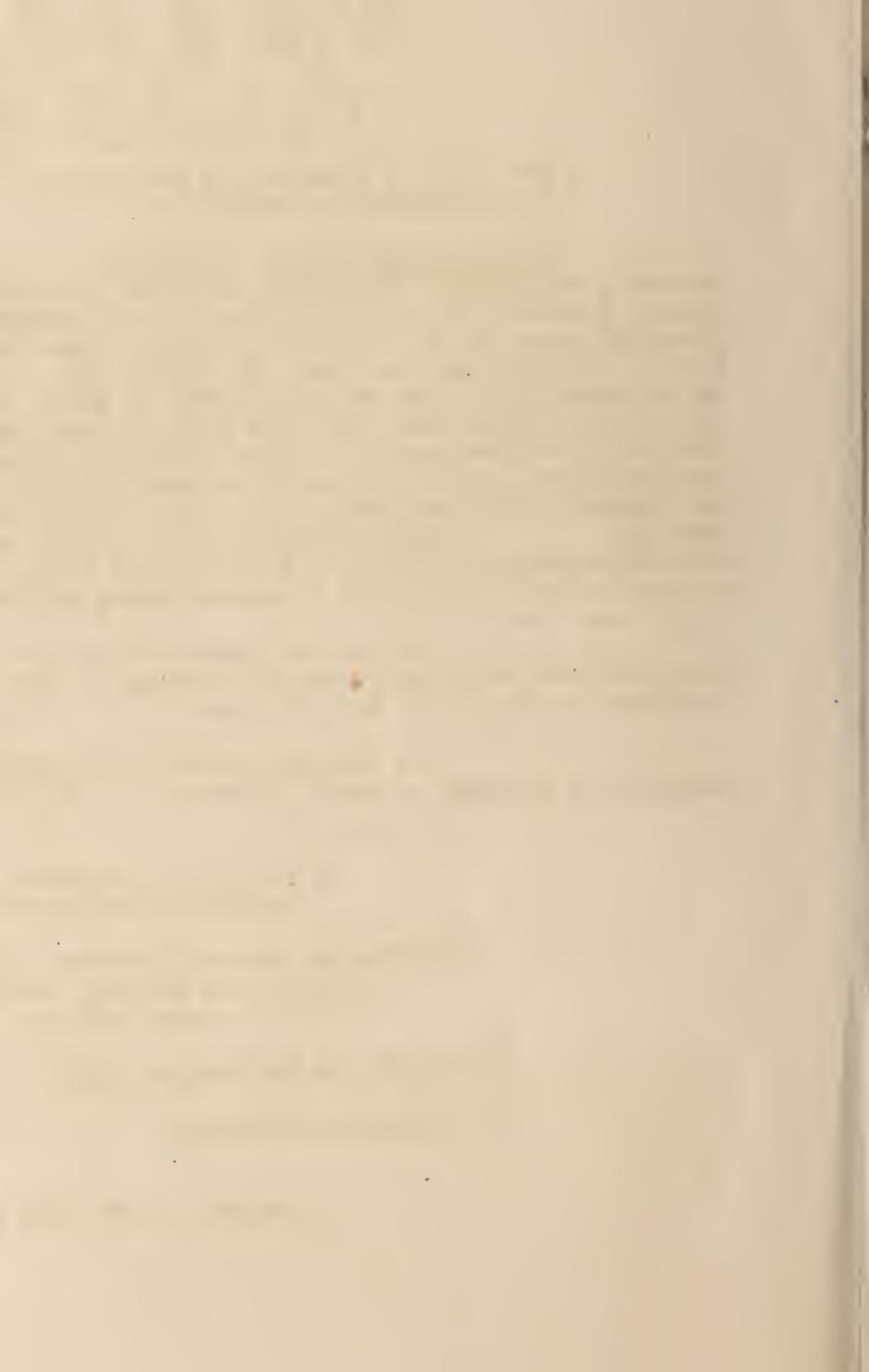
But the New Typewriter has not only those above mentioned most important facilities, but also many more other things which are equally important for the modern Korean's use.

The following table of THE EXTRA SYMBOLS will justify itself to be the most versatile typewriter in its kind of the world:-

(The " * " indicates the item which is lacking in the Old Korean Typewriter.)

- * (1) The New Korean Typewriter is usable for
The Historical Spelling, Common Spelling, and
for The Horizontal Spelling
- * (2) It has the Arabian Figure
- (3) Chinese Numerals

(Continued to the next page):-



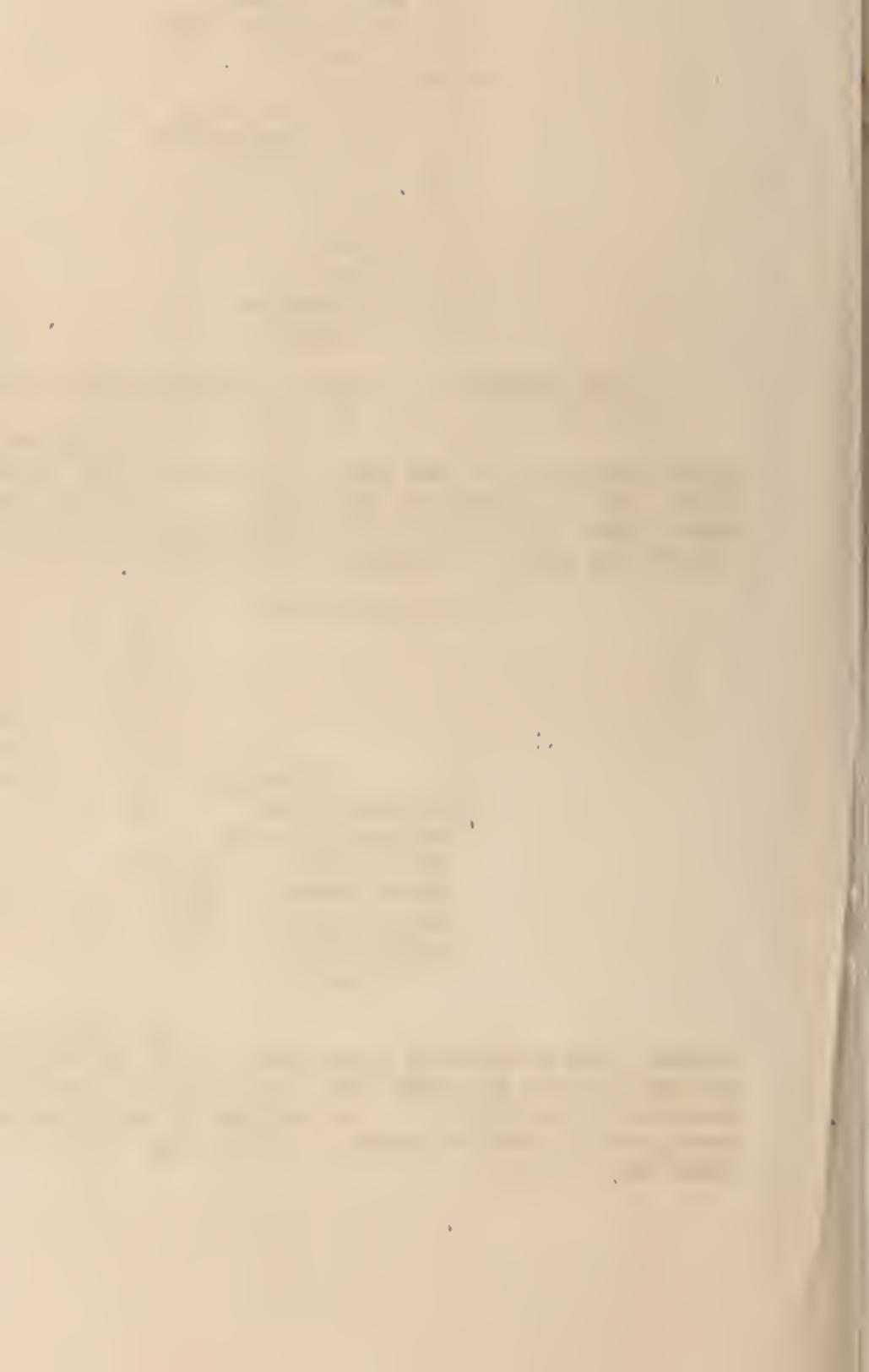
- *(4) Chinese monetary Numerals
- *(5) Chinese Monetary Units
- *(6) Chinese Date
- *(7) American Monetary Units
- *(8) Symbols for Foreign Terms
- *(9) Quotation Marks
- *(10) Korean Flag Sign
- *(11) Asterisk
- *(12) Hyphen
- *(13) Prolonging Sign
- *(14) Underscoring Sign
- *(15) Question Mark
- *(16) Exclamation Mark
- (17) Period
- (18) Comma
- *(19) Colon
- *(20) Parentheses
- *(21) Brackets

(iv) SYMBOLS FOR CORRECT PRONUNCIATION OF FOREIGN TERMS:-

Modern Korea uses innumerable foreign terms (much more in the future) such as foreign names of Persons, Places, Articles, and of Scientific Subjects. The old typewriter can not describe these terms correctly; but the new typewriter can describe most correctly almost any kind of foreign pronunciation in the world. For example:-

English sounds,	"F" by	" 오오 "
	"V" -	" 오ㅂ "
	"Th" -	" 오ㅈ "
	"T-h" -	" 오ㅊ "
	"Z" -	" 오ㅉ "
	"L" -	" 오ㄹ "
The Long	"a" -	" -ㄹ "
Japanese sound	"カ" "	" 오가 "
Prolonging sound,		" ~ "
German sound	"g, ch" -	" 오ㅇ "
French sound	"gn" -	" 오ㄴ "
Russian sound	"Ts" -	" 오ㅅ "
Hebrew sound	"ש" "	" 오ㅅ "
Etc.,etc.		

All the foregoing descriptions clearly evince, this New Korean Typewriter is more scientific, and far more versatile, and much easier to learn than the old Korean typewriter, and richer than the American typewriter. In fact, as far as these matters are concerned, this new Korean typewriter seems to surpass any kind of typewriter, of the world, ever been made so far!



(IV) CONCLUSION

Therefore, we wish to appeal not only to the Korean intellectuals, but also to all the missionaries to Korea, to the Korean writers, publishers, teachers, preachers, and particularly, to the Education Department of the American Military Government in Korea, to adopt this new scientific system of "HORIZONTAL SPELLING" of the Korean Alphabet.

However, considering the difficulties of conquering the mental inertia of the long accustomed conventionalism, we would suggest that this system should be practiced step by step, gradually, taking time three to five years. For example, by inserting many interesting stories written in this Horizontal Spelling System in the text-books of Korean Literature, and the like, here and there; and by publishing some short novels and essays written in this new system, through the news papers; and by sending out some simple official documents written in the new spelling by the Government, this movement can be successfully achieved even within a much shorter period of time than we think now.

And at the same time, there will be an increasing number of Koreans who would write their personal correspondence and commercial documents with the new Korean typewriter, which evidently will draw the public attraction by its beauty, speed, correct reading, clean looking, and its multiplicability for mimeographing, and its duplicability for important correspondence, and so forth.

When this much is done, the cultural contribution to the New Free Korea, made by the A.M.G. in Korea, would be almost as great as the Renaissance movement, or as gloriously successful as Kemal Pash's Alphabet Revolution in Turkey.....

Why should we not try it ?

-*:(END):-*

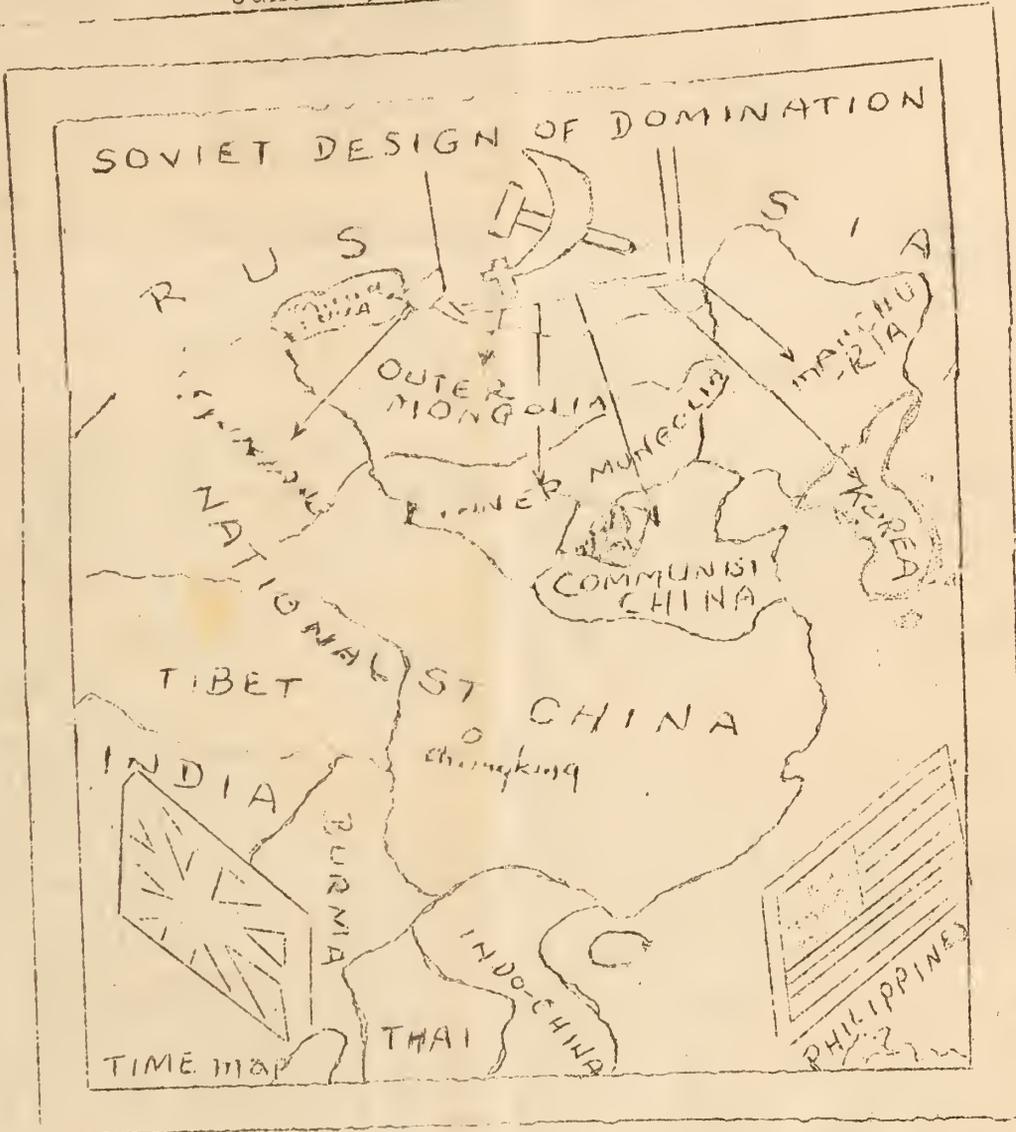


THE KOREAN AMERICAN TIMES

142 W. 36th St., Los Angeles, Cal. Parkway, Los Angeles, Cal. Volume II Number 5

142 W. 36th St., Los Angeles, Cal. June 15, 1945

THE RISING TIDE OF



COMMUNISM TOWARD ASIA

-AND BEYOND!

Justice, human rights and international law should be the guiding principles of any world organization for peace. Peace must of necessity be founded upon the common sense of justice and relative. No nation has any right to impose its will upon another. Life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are the pillars of Democracy.

Injustice, cruelty and imperialism sweep a great part of Europe before our very eyes. Despair, slavery and death are rampant in the wake of totalitarian Communism. Whither Pacific? Strategic Korea must be a bulwark of Democracy.

THE CASE FOR KOREA

By Robert T. Oliver, Ph.D.
Syracuse University Press
April, 1945

*

("With the restoration of Korean independence, one of the great crimes of the twentieth century will have been rectified, and another stabilizing factor will have been added to the new international system which must be constructed in the Pacific."

--Sumner Welles.)

*

I. WHY THE KOREAN QUESTION CONCERNS THE UNITED STATES

Americans have been much disturbed by Russia's handling of the Polish problem, and by the results of seemingly inept English diplomacy in Belgium, Italy, and Greece. A growing concern for the "little nations" is developing as a back-drop for the leading role in determining peace policies that has been assumed by the "big three." The peoples of the world are determined to have a lasting peace at any price. If peace can be secured in no other way they will be willing to see morality sacrificed in the name of expediency. If the continued partnership of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States should actually demand the suppression of small nations and minority national groups, a majority of world opinion would probably reluctantly sanction such injustice. But before such sacrifices are made, the peoples of the world want to be sure. Fifty million peace-loving, home-hungry men are not shooting one another to pieces only for the sake of substituting another bloc of ruling powers in the place of the Axis dictatorships that are being destroyed. This is the central core of hard fact in the gradually crystallizing mass of doubt, questioning, and resentment with which the inarticulate, partly uninformed, but moral public is responding to the successive conferences in which the future of the world we are all to live in is being shaped.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to call the attention of the American public to a grave and puzzling paradox in our own handling of the case of Korea. This is a problem that is peculiarly our own. We are able to settle it on our own initiative, much as Russia is determining the basis for settlement of the disputed Baltic and Eastern European problems, and as England is asserting leadership in fixing the post-war pattern in the areas bordering the Mediterranean.

- The problem of Korea is ours for two reasons. The first reason is because we helped to cause the problem. The second and more immediately important is because events have so developed that the other nations of the world regard the problem as ours. No other nation could now take positive steps to solve the Korean question without deliberately affronting the State Department and the President of the United States. Just how this situation developed is of secondary importance. It is largely by the deliberate choice of our diplomats. It is inevitably established by the fact that the conquest of Japan is largely being accomplished by American arms and at the cost of American lives. How the situation arose, however, is of less moment than the fact that it exists.

We Americans are aware that in international diplomacy the role of the United States is a difficult one. Our deep-seated instincts and natural habits are to disavow any responsibilities beyond our own borders. We have been isolationists, in the main, for 150 years, and old habits of thinking and acting are difficult to shed. It is hard for us to step onto the stage of world affairs and act now as though every quarter of the globe is a matter of our intimate concern. We know that we are a world power. We fully realize our armed forces are on every continent and ocean. We are aware that our decisions and intentions are studied in every capital in the world. We understand that we have exercised influence in shaping the destinies of many peoples who know little of the United States except its reputed fabulous wealth and power. And we are aware that with this influence goes the responsibility of following through to see that it does the maximum of good and the minimum of harm.

All these things we do in a sense understand. Yet the fact of our world responsibility is so new that we exercise it cautiously, uncertainly, and at times capriciously. While slowly gaining the sureness of experience, we sometimes seem pretty harsh and muddleheaded to peoples we unwittingly harm. Our treatment of Korea is a case in point.

In 1882 we stepped into Korea to end the 4,000 years of isolation of that "Hermit Kingdom." Our Commodore R. W. Shufeldt in that year sailed into Chemulpo Bay, with the naval power that accompanied our first diplomatic exchanges in the Orient, and persuaded the Emperor of Korea to abandon his policy of isolation for a protective treaty with the United States. This treaty provided:

"If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."

The wording of the treaty was legalistically reserved, but its intention of providing American protection for Korean independence was clearly understood by both countries. The Honorable John Russell Young, writing from the United States Legation

at Peking to Secretary of State Freylinghuysen, on December 26, 1882, commented on the Treaty as follows:

"I think it very important that the United States should have a footing in Corea, and that having opened the door, we should not close it or give any other power precedence."

We appointed a Minister to Korea, and the Korean Commission to the United States was accorded the unique courtesy of conduct back to their own country on the U. S. Warship Trenton, after their mission was ended. American businessmen were welcomed to Korea, where they built the first steam railroad, electric street-car system, and electric light plant. Americans took the lead in developing Korean mines, constructing water works, and establishing modern agriculture. American missionaries were received gladly and under their influence Korea became known as "the most Christian land of the Orient."

Meanwhile Japan was reacting with alarm and with vigorous counter-measures to the growing American influence in Korea. For centuries Japanese militarists had realized that possession of Korea was for them the first essential to any scheme of conquest on the continent. In 1592, while Queen Elizabeth was raising England to the front rank among the nations of Europe, Japan's first great militarist, Hideyoshi, set forth confidently with a force of 305,000 men to conquer Korea and to march on from there to seize China, India, and the Philippines. After seven years of bloody fighting, his armies were forced to retreat, with Korea still unconquered and still the unpassable barrier to his designs on the continent. Ever since then the Japanese military clique had been awaiting the right time to strike again. They did not intend to let the United States stand in their way.

In 1904, Japanese troops won a foothold on the Korean peninsula on their way to fight Russia, by signing a Treaty of Offensive and Defensive Alliance, promising to "confirm and uphold the independence of Korea." In the following year, as part of the settlement of the Russo-Japanese war, President Theodore Roosevelt acquiesced to the Japanese occupation of Korea and later to making Korea a protectorate of Japan. In approving this destruction of Korean independence, the United States was the first nation to withdraw its Minister from Korea and to entrust the duties of that office to our Embassy in Tokyo. A frantic Korean mission of protest to the United States was ignored, and our treaty pledge of mutual assistance, made in 1882, was conveniently forgotten.

The tenor of events during those years was frankly interpreted by a Japanese writer, Adachi Kinosuke, writing in the October, 1907, issue of the Review of Reviews:

"We shall be frank about it--we shall say that we are carrying things with a high hand in Korea. We have gone into the back

yard of our neighbor and are telling him to kindly move on simply because we need his home. We are doing just as the Americans have done with the Indians, the rightful owners of America; just as the Britons have done with the Hindus; just as the Russians have done to the Tartars; just as Germany did in South Africa, and France in Cochin China. Nippon has joined the house of great powers. She has become civilized."

To this frank and cynical avowal, the United States was silent. The Protectorate of 1905, and the final annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910 we accepted as accomplished facts with which we had no real concern. Our businessmen tried to adjust themselves to the new Japanese regulations, and when they failed withdrew to seek profits elsewhere. Our missionaries fitted themselves with more success into the Japanese pattern of conquest, and were able to remain, under gradually tightening restrictions, until 1941. Our State Department decided that the Treaty of 1882 was a mistake and interpreted it as being no longer in effect, since the State of Korea was now swallowed up by Japan. The American people know very little of what was going on, and were placidly content to "keep out of Asiatic affairs."

To the Koreans, however, the situation has never seemed quite that simple. They know their country had existed as an independent state for more than 4,000 years prior to the time we opened its closed doors. They had a cultural, literary, and nationalistic tradition as dear to them as ours is to us. They had a language of their own, and were proud of their simplified alphabet of 26 letters. They realized the contribution they had made to world progress as inventors of the first movable metal type.

With all their pride in their heritage, they had been willing to learn. They had supplemented their Confucian philosophy with the Christian religion. With their Medieval social and economic systems, they were amazed by the achievements of American industry, and eagerly welcomed the new developments we could bring them. They sent their best young men to our Universities to learn our ways. They established newspapers and developed a vigorous liberal movement to renovate their politics and social practices. More than accepting our strange ways with tolerance, they were willing to adopt what we had to offer as being better than the traditions according to which they had lived. They even believed that when we entered into a treaty we meant what we said!

Korea was, of course, a naive newcomer into the family of nations. Educated Koreans have learned since then that many treaties are broken, and that expediency is a rule of conduct that has been followed toward other countries as well as toward their own. They might accept the situation with the detached viewpoint of an objective historian except for one fact. The fact is that they are not objective historians writing in safe and comfortable libraries.

They are a people whose independence has been destroyed. Their homeland has been ravaged and seized. Their liberties have been suppressed. They have been robbed and tortured, imprisoned and killed. They have suffered innumerable Li-tices and Battan imprisonments. All that the world has discovered of Japan since the rape of Nanking they have known as victims for over a generation. It is understandably hard for them to shrug off the betrayal and desertion of their country as "the way of the world," and "a diplomatic problem that must be solved as the expediency of diplomacy requires." They believe their human rights have been violated. And they have a solution they think could be readily applied.

*

II. WHAT KOREA WANTS NOW .

Ever since 1905, when the Japanese assumed by force a protectorate over the ancient Kingdom of Korea, the Korean people have lacked any effective voice of their own in international affairs. When in 1907 the Emperor Yi secretly sent a delegation to the Hague Conference to plead the cause of his country against Japanese oppression, he was forced to abdicate. Three years later the Japs dropped every pretense of maintaining their pledged word and incorporated Korea as a "province of Japan"--but without any rights of citizenship. The brutal Count Terauchi, named as the first Governor-General of Korea, announced flatly his method of dealing with Korean malcontents: "I will whip you with scorpions."

In 1919, occurred the best-organized and most widespread of the revolutionary movements that have swept Korea regularly ever since 1910. Two million Koreans in every section of the country gathered peaceably on March 1, at 2:00 p.m. and demonstrated their desire for independence. It was distinctly a passive rebellion, designed simply to make inescapably clear to the peace-makers in Paris the real feelings of the Korean people. Japanese troops suppressed the demonstrations with a brutality the world was not to see again until the rape of Nanking furnished a second, and more localized, example of the nature of Japanese terrorism.

More important than the rebellion itself, representative leaders from each of the 13 Korean provinces met secretly and formed a provisional government to represent their people until Japan had been driven out and a general election should become possible. Now, 26 years later, that provisional Government is still functioning, with headquarters in Chungking, and with a Commission in Washington, D. C. Repeatedly, that government has sought the recognition and aid of the United States and other great powers.

In 1919, our State Department refused a passport to Dr. Synman Rhee, President of the Provisional Government, in order to prevent him from presenting his country's case before the Peace Conference at Paris. The reason for this violation of Wilson's lofty principle of "the right of self-determination of peoples" was that Japan had been our ally in the war--although

her chief role had been to seize for herself German territories in China, and to take over the Pacific islands she was to develop as bases to make possible her whirlwind conquests of the first six months after Pearl Harbor. At this distance we can readily see the price we have had to pay and are still paying for having preferred appeasement of Japan to justice for Korea in 1919.

In 1922, when the Disarmament Conference was held in Washington, D. C., the Korean Provisional Government made another attempt to have its case reviewed--and again was flatly rebuffed.

In 1941, after 23 years of rejection for the sake of appeasing Japan, the Korean Provisional Government experienced a great surge of hope that the attack on Pearl Harbor would lead at once to recognition of Korea's claims to freedom, and to active assistance in setting up a strong underground movement in that country. Surely, never in the history of the United States had we had more need of the help of 27,000,000 people situated astride our principal enemy's vital lines of supply!

Confidently Tjo Sowang, Foreign Minister of the Korean Provisional Government in Chungking, sent a communication to the American Government expressing a thorough accord with the war principles of the United States and pledging full cooperation of the Korean people in the fight against Japan. In effect, he asked that the United States give Korea the status of a co-belligerent, if not an active ally, and that the Koreans be considered as comrades in arms. Mr. Tjo had every reason to expect a sympathetic reply.

Then came disillusionment. The incredible reply was unofficially made by an officer of the State Department that it was unwise to agitate the question of Korean independence at that time because to do so "might be offensive to the Japanese." This was after Pearl Harbor and our Declaration of War against Japan!

The files of the Korean Commission bulge with the many communications subsequently addressed to our State Department ("May I have the honor of an interview..." and "May I bring to your attention the facts...") and the replies ("The Secretary regrets..." and "The Secretary is unable to see...").

Meanwhile the cardinal fact is that the people of Korea still remain without an official voice to present their interests in the settlements already being mapped out for the post-war world. The essence of their claim is that they should be given such a voice.

The specific requests that the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea is making may be briefly summarized:

1. That it be recognized by our State Department as a provisional government, empowered to speak for its people until their country is free and a properly supervised election can be held.

2. That it be allowed to become a signatory to the Declaration of United Nations, precisely as the other provisional governments at war with the Axis.

3. That liaison be established between it and the Allied High Command, in order that the activities of the Korean guerrillas and saboteurs may be integrated into the plans of our armed forces. As General Eisenhower continually reiterated in Europe, it is useless and suicidal for an underground force to become active except in close coordination with the plans of an army of invasion.

4. That Lend-Lease aid be made available for the training and supply of Korean troops, guerrillas and saboteurs. This is particularly necessary since the Korean Provisional Government is completely shut off from any source of revenue or supply, except from the 10,000 Koreans in this country and Hawaii, who have loyally supported it since 1919.

5. That the Office of War Information and the Allied High Command cooperate with it in setting up on Okinawa Island and on other adjacent territories, as they are subsequently occupied, radio facilities and other means of re-educating the Korean people concerning facts of the outside world which they have seen only as Japanese propaganda has misrepresented them ever since 1905. The ready surrender of Korean laborers on islands we have already captured has demonstrated that despite the best efforts of Japanese propaganda the Koreans know that we are their friends. It would be stupid, however, not to recognize the drastic need for getting to the suppressed people of the Korean homeland at the earliest opportunity the true story of Japanese aggression and of America's role in the war. We have had abundant evidence of the fantastic fairy tales the Japanese press and radio relate to their own and conquered peoples as sober fact.

6. That its representatives be admitted to the San Francisco Conference of United Nations and to subsequent allied conferences in which the future of Korea along with the rest of the world is being discussed and, so far as may be, is shaped.

The Korean Provisional Government is standing upon the proposition that these proposals are neither undesirable in themselves nor impossible to achieve. So far, however, no single one of them is even under official consideration. By our State Department, even the presentation of them has been brushed aside.

(To be continued in next issue.)

CATHOLICS URGE KOREAN FREEDOM

NEW YORK: Catholics For Korea, a group representing Catholics prominent in national life, sent telegrams to President Truman and the American delegates at the United Nations Conference, urging that they demand freedom and complete independence for Korea after the war with Japan.

--The Tidings - Los Angeles -
June 1, 1945.

CHINA FIGHTS ON

China Fights On is an inside story of China's long struggle against our common enemy. Written by Dr. Pan Chao-ying, author of "American Diplomacy Concerning Manchuria," and Director of the Society of Chinese Culture in Washington, D. C., this newest book on China is a most important work for those who would familiarize themselves with the historic events which were a prophecy of Pearl Harbor.

Dr. Pan's new book carries a foreword by Bishop Paul Yu-pin, the great exponent of Catholicism in the Far East. General Shang Chen, head of the Chinese Military Mission to the United States, says that the volume affords to the reader an authoritative statement on China's present position in the political and social pattern of the world now at war, and an accurate preview of China's aspirations in our post-war world. Hon. John W. McCormack, Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, says of the book: "Dr. Pan met many important people of various nations. His book is a result of academic training and practical experience. His interpretation of China is incisive and provocative."

China Fights On is published by Fleming H. Revell Co., New York City, with illustrations, on June 1. \$2.50

KOREAN MARKET * AMERICAN GOODS

Korea has 28,500,000 customers for American manufacture. In an area of 85,228 square miles, Korea has the 7th largest population in the world. World's No. 4 rice producer, Korean waters produced over 1,950,000 tons of fish in 1940, equal to the total production in the United States.

Korea has 8 major ports to accommodate ocean traffic, fed by nearly four thousand miles of railways and an excellent bus network throughout the country. In addition to her coal reserve of 3 billion tons with an annual production of 4,000,000 tons, Korea has one of the greatest hydrologic areas of the world, her total prime power potential being 4,500,000 kilowatts.

Korea's cotton production is equal to India's per capita production. Rich in gold, tungsten, mica, graphite, molybdenum, zinc, magnesium, cerium, aluminum, chromium, cement, as well as ceramics, brassware, furs, hides, silk, rayon, staple fibres, and many agricultural products, Korea is in a position to pay for American tools, machinery, equipment and manufactured goods with her raw materials and semi-finished goods immediately after the war.

Make plans to trade with Korea.

Help Korea to help finish the job over the Jap.
Extend supplies to Korean armed forces.
Cooperate with the Provisional Government of the
Republic of Korea - exiled in Chungking.

Copies of this material are filed with the Department of Justice at Washington, D. C.

RED SETUP FOR KOREA AT YALTA PARLEY CHARGED

Dr. James S. Shinn, field director general of the Korean-American Council, here yesterday charged two things:

That Russia had formed a "national liberation government" a la Poland to take over Korea.

That it was secretly agreed at Yalta to hand Korea over to Russia.

The latter has been denied by Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State. The charges recently were made by Dr. Synman Rhee, first president of the Korean provisional government and grand old man of Korean independence. He is head of the Korean delegation.

"We have documentary evidence of what we say," Dr. Shinn said at the Biltmore. "We fear that again the 30,000,000 Koreans will be sold down the river as they were at the Portsmouth (N.H.) conference (1905). This is a matter of historic record.

The United States gave Japan Korea, which she since has held but against a constant underground resistance.

"The present situation not only affects the destiny of Korea. At Yalta it was also agreed to hand Manchuria over. Russia in Asia seeks to do what it is doing so successfully in Europe, to set up 'liberation governments' in its own image and then take over. If Manchuria goes, Korea will go; if Korea goes, China will go and, if China goes, India will go..."

--Los Angeles Times, June 20, 1945.

THE FATE OF THE WORLD IS AT STAKE IN CHINA

By Max Eastman and J. B. Powell

--Reader's Digest, June, 1945.

Periodicals in Allied countries do not hesitate to publish blunt opinions when their national interest is at stake... We can hardly to keep the respect of the other United Nations if our press... does not speak up just as boldly. Especially in relation to our friendly neighbor China, a plain-spoken report of the facts and a frank discussion of American policy are imperative...

The question whether China goes democratic or totalitarian is the biggest political question of today... Russia's weapons are conspiratorial organization and party-controlled propaganda, leading to seizure of power and a liquidation of all democrats, and if necessity arises, military invasion in the name of 'liberation'.....

Pro-Communists are playing the same game in Asia that succeeded so brilliantly in Eastern Europe.....

THE SOVIET'S IRON FIST IN RUMANIA

By Leigh White

A disturbing picture of the regime Stalin has imposed on one of the countries "liberated" by the Red Army.

--The Saturday Evening Post, June 23, 1945.

권재현 二十五원

좌응민 五十원

염선오 二十원

정봉홍 五十원

홍현우 四十원

김항규 五十원

장과영 五十원

오중우 二十五원

이상도합

三천一백원내에서

현금 수입

二천一백원이외

이동액이

(一천원)

최하현씨전차입

六백원

고응도씨전차입

四백원

이상총합

三천一백원내에서

가옥매입

二천원

명동집사기로양조금

六十원

명동집사기로리양조금

三十四원

박호근씨전차

수전려미

八十一원二十八원

박호근씨전차

수전려미

十六원五十五원

김지운씨돈보내

경미

二十三원

최하현씨전차입

六백원

이승지출도합 二七六〇六

전차입 三十一원九十四원

귀성증서

전차입금의

명예권 전사

고바, 교상지동(부인)

의 장남 김지운은

二十키만의 청년으로서

사도대령양전선에

서용장히싸우다가

을해(乙未) 전하을마

전영(丙申) 전사를

함으로 이소식을 들

어 한친구는 그모친과

함께 매를 뒤로 끌고

러라)

① 소 풀은

귀성

손승조씨와 동부

인의 장자 풀은은

해군(海軍) 비해(海軍) 함

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전차입(四十一원) 전차입(四十一원) 전차입(四十一원)

우고 출은 전한지 十三개

원(한)에 휘가 큰 언어

귀성증서(부인) 그 부친

과 친척 친우가 반개히

환영하였다더라

전진지

그대가 주유 동로심방

다성(대) 오래가 류하는 전

진 동쪽지는 원(한)의

잠시 휘가를 얻어 주유가

주유(주유) 포로(포로) 방(방) 문(문) 하였다

러라)

② 배신(배신) 부(부)녀(녀)사

도(도)지(지) 박(박)신(신)부(부)녀(녀)사(사)는 그(그)대(대)음(음)세(세)라(라)야(야)와(와)가(가)스 이(이)다(다)성(성)에(에)친(친)류(류)하(하)는(는)증(증)이(이)라(라)다(다)라(라)

(一四五, 六, 四) 전차



주자가유
대한인 양로원
재정모다
가옥등(연)방면

김정환	백원	김영근	백원	리영근	백원	리동은	백원	고응도	백원	최학현	백원	려귀림	백원	박호근	백원	김성대	백원	김영근	백원	남계홍	백원	고명관	백원
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안경오	십원	임생희	십원	현정림	십원	최덕규	십원	조명진	십원	장원주	십원	림한규	십원	리춘화	십원	송현영	십원	송철	십원	송인회	십원	중가유	십원	송현희	십원	김창규	십원	김희규	십원	강판석	십원	로학원	십원	경창복	십원	리준일	십원	리도석	십원
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리동은	십원	고명관	십원	로학원	십원	백해수	십원	리삼음	십원	강상룡	십원	정홍성	십원	신종호	십원	한봉여	십원	김형원	십원	백해현	십원	리명녕	십원	현외터	십원	임상희	십원	주아이다	십원	주영한	십원	정봉학	십원	한삼봉	십원
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무엇보다 이런 생각은 현
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출석하여 말한 언젠
을 잊게 될는지 모르
대표자를 이 평화 회에
사택을 낸지 이것이다
우리의 의무는 이 안된
고 할 수 없는 것이 다
지금 상항에서 열
린 세계 안전 대회는 평
화 회의 준비 회라고 할
수 있는 이 자리에서 우
리 정부 대표자를 말
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환영할 것인지 상항
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이 문제를 대하여 우리
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우리의 의무는 무엇
인가?
우리의 준비는 무엇
인가?
우리는 여기 대한 준비
는 한 두 가지가 안 되고
여러 가지가 되므로 사실
이다 그러나 여러 가지
중에서 지금 당장에
착수할 것 몇 가지가 있
다 이것은 우리가 등
한 이 생애 각 한 것도
안 노 할 것 잊을 미
주위 들을 잊지 안 노
망장에 기록한 인
사 회적 각 개이 모든 하
나도 빠지지 말고 또 각
자 각 양으로 제 각 기 행

동을 하지 말고 한데
합하여 가지고 주신지
살던지 사생각으로
결단치 않으면 안 되
준 안다. 너분 명하
말하자면 우리가 합
동이면 동구리 일을
다 할 능력 이 있을
것이요 각각 분의 퇴
변 동구리 할 힘도 없
고 자력도 없하는 지
호를 맞을 것으로 사실
이다 이것은 우리의 의
지만은 과거가 명백
히 증거 하였으므로 지금
당면한 상항에서
열린 안전 회에서
우리 대표자를 환영
하여 하는 말이
승인을 받지 못
한 정부 대표라는 리

우르 배척을 당하는 것
을 우리는 철히 모른다
이것을 또 다시 고문 정어
서 말 할 것 할 으면
상항 안전 회에서
승인을 받지 못한 거
표자라는 구실을 부
릴 터이니 이 때 위 말은
외교가들이 듣기 조 체하
는 말이지나 진정한
리 유라고 지칭하기는
당파가 만효 이 말
은 당파적에서 제 각
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하는 줄로 알아
우리의 대표자가 어떤
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심케 되고 우리
대표자의 출신이나
물려하는 것을 필
자는 의무를 가지지
않을 수 없는 동등한 자와

이 이런재도 이의 시작
이 되었느냐 날과달이
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이났스며 인재는 태평
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고안나하것은가
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는 세기첫래자와정
목을관한노백주
대표들을청하여가
노고연합주추강
속들이모려서 힘
량자인 더 일
재관할것에 원고파
고가다모하는 세계력
사상에전부한평화
회가열날것이다
이것이열날평화

회에 5대강주의거두
들은재판장이될것이고
세계를수라장을만든
덕 일은 세계적의
이될것이다
이최인을징벌하는
동시에 우리노백주
민주 등열리주
권을배앗기고원수
에항대를강하는우
리한주대표자가우
국권을다스들녀말
나고 호소할것이우
리독립운동(은)
(본)권(은)권(은)권(은)
다. 그러나 이세상사람
의모든정(은)이극(은)
공하리라고여(은)하(은)
는(은)이(은)다
다시말하자면 우리독
립운동(은)은(은)권(은)

리살음씨의 말

『필요한 것은 곧 발표
하고 정황은 연구하여
해결할 기심입니다』
한시대의 의의

『합동성정서의 필
요를 압니다 그러나
리박사는 대항채를
쓰는 듯하니 우리의
의의에 대항책...』

(Attacking policy) 다
호소편 (Appealing policy)

『어느 것이 진정할지 정
책을 정당한 후에 서명
하겠습니까』
황사옹씨의 말

『합동이 일체된 일로서
명하는 것이 그 본의한
것이고 시세에 좇아 행
진하는 것은 호소책
을 쓰는 것이 조급하다』

류영상씨의 말

『주일(十五六)간을
소회하면서 대한
대표단 정보』
Korean Delegation Information Bureau

『나간 다 하였고 그 일을
대항책스런 재론을
하지 않겠다』
김호씨의 말

『하루저투로 서명서
를 발표하자』
황사옹씨의 말

『리박사는 식언치 않을
것이다』
리살음씨의 말

『성명서를 발표하
는 것이 긴급하니
맞은 위원들은 합
작하여 서명
을 받아 발표하시오』

일동이 항해하고 회
장이 평화를 원하
엿다 (끝)

『의서』

『평화회의에 대한
우리의 할 일』
황사옹

『평화회의가
열리기 전에』
미포한인의 할 일

『공공의 평화를
원한 장래에』
평화회의가 어디서 열
릴지는 온 이상에는
사실의요 도이 평화

『회의에서 대한도 일부
제가 너를 보냈드려
슬한즉, 미포한인
은 이 평화회의가 열
리기 전에 모든 준비

『평화회의가
열리기 전에』
미포한인의 할 일

다 하고 한길유씨는
생항 언삼민너 5월 8
일호 으리찬드 군의 포
문에 관하여 리박사의
책임을 부르내 리
박사는 설명하하의
나은 그 신문에 재로
를 주는 이 업다
아라사버대 한 것 친
아라를 세워가지고 공
산 빈주 랑 망으로 난
화와 활동 해야 주 제
정세를 잘 응용 하자
나은 문화현으로 서서
공산파를 반대하는
길로 갈 터이니 여려문
이 양편으로 일출할
려가 업게 하시오
한길유씨는 또 말하하
안편회의는 영미 주
아 네나라가 주관하는 것
인데 노년아침신문

에 리박사가 이 회집을
아라사 반대하는 회집
이라 말로 하엿스
국제적 감정을 사
기 될 려가 잇습
나
은 명주씨의 말
아라사를 반대하는 것
처럼 된 것은 오로지
이니 리박사 또한
에서 한 것이 안노
아라가 사람의 편하는
말이니 이것이 노년
업나
리박사
에 길로 한 일이 잇서서
되슈 하는 것이니 용
서 해주시면 나가보아
아라가 잇습나
리박사 회장 정한경
박사가 회주어 문어

가 결함으로 리박사는
퇴장하하
하사대외의 반
근본적 동일은
주장하하하하하
석회의 후에도 간
두적 행동이 잇스
나 리박사 못하하
습나
류경상씨의 말
근본문제에는 시간
이 많이드는 것이니
성명서의 내용은 만
합의하면 못서 명하
기바습나 리박사
는 30분내에 왕참
하여야 되겠는 고로
이외 설명을 하하
하하하하하
정호씨의 말
리박사 설명한 것은

전 회에서 결함한 것이
다 그런데 그동안 한길
일사이에 몇가지 표현
된 것이 잇다
리박사의 설명이 그
러케 된 일이 업다 하하
스니 해결되나 그의
말은 한길유씨 명서
를 본래 발하고 일
을 하여 가라면 두그
를 들은 표시해가지고
하하는 한길유씨를
하하하
리박사는 주장을 한
문인데 그 망침계 획
에 관하여 연구하여 다
가원하는 대로 나갈 수
잇다 설명서는 다시
모혀하고 리박사의
퇴여주는 망침을
연구하여 보자

하게 설명하며 그 뒤를
 이어 전권부장 정한
 경막사의 간략한 주
 장과 판막사, 대박사
 사들 양씨의
 대한인의 전후와
 연합측 승리에 관한
 찬사가 있었고 10여인
 신문기자의 문답이
 잇는 후 10시경 회차
 되었는 데 방은 회석
 에서 각인 에 의
 인색 중미한 한 주
 사경과 리명석 명석
 영문책자를 문권
 행사에 서부부장
 리명석 무사외 하와
 이에서는 막새라
 양과 주경주 신문기

자등이 접근하였거
 러다
 ① 리명석 대표단 회의
 5월 8일 테니차
 리명석 대표단 회의의
 에서 단장 리승만
 막사의 설명이 끝
 ② 합동선명석에서
 평한 것 과 유력
 가공산당과 민주당
 으로 양분 활동의 편
 으로 여부에 대하여는
 합동선명석에서 명
 말표만 하나가 걸하
 였다 러다
 ③ 합동회의
 5월 8일 상오 10시에
 리명석 대표단 사무소
 에서 제 5차 합동
 회의로써 리명석 회장

평한경막사의 사회로
 개최되니 리승만막사
 정한경막사, 리승만을
 복사, 윤명주복사
 주경석, 복사, 황사
 영무사, 김운영
 의사, 리명석, 정명
 전경주, 한시대 류
 진석, 김명연, 한
 진슈, 김호 등 제
 시가 추근석되었는 러
 림전 대표단장 리
 승만막사의 설명이
 ④ 합동선명석의 내용
 은 대한인이 이른기간
 걸 될것을 표시할
 이라한 후 한시대
 의 말
 ⑤ 설명서 말표시에는
 공문책임이 있스나
 합작해는 이 화신

하여야 설명된 것이
 오 설명후에 이인
 치행등을 이르한 다
 함으로 리명석의 재
 차선명, 주경
 ⑥ 합작선명을 주경
 함이 다른 모든 것
 은 절차로 정할 수
 있는 것이 러다 한 후
 리명석의 제의
 ⑦ 해외한인 전례가 합
 정을 후원하여
 대한인 전례가 합
 동일치된 것을
 설명할 것이라
 한 이 말을 채용
 의로 이 말 되었다
 ⑧ 리명석의 신문기자
 대회초머가 그 뒤 되었

금번 대표단의 특색
외교운동 투구면은
외국인은 외교위원으로
송내되는 바임으로
임흥계는 외교위원
부에서 계산 발표될
것으로

본대표단 재투표에서
는 위원 1원만을
외교위원에게서
넘겨오고 앞으로
응되는대로 위원장
리영사에게서 넘겨
와서 지출되는 관계
안(은)후 발표하리라
다

① 리영사 대표단 각인의
모교
리영사 대표단 고제부장
문명주 목사 사는 그의

친구인 전가주 재학
중장이요 구영우
대가로 유명한 배로
장군이 상항 역삼
민사 신문지에 한
주에 대한 결실한
근본을 발표하였
슴으로 장준의 동
평을 감동하는 바
이며 현전무장
정한 영익사 등여
러 대표원들이 각
소양주 대표단을
심향고습하더라
흔들 평은 어엿다
다

① 리영사 대표단 회의
5월 2일은 데오차림
정대표단 회의에서
장리승만 박사의 연영

중
예제안전대회(의)향
하여 거한 민족
리영사 정부의 연영
어와 참가가 청원서
어관한 빈 이
었고 또한 데오차림
의 주 5월 7일에는
만장 박 영명이 금
연안전 회의에 한국
참가권을 다시 청원하
고 그답은 피아는
중이라 하였다

① 신문가짜 회의
거한 민족 7월 7일
5월 5일 하오
시에 리영사 대표
간장 리승만 박사가
상항 파리에 스토크
프랜취 회집소에 신

문과자 대회를 소지하며
예제안전 회의의 큰 문
적하고 부친 가신
문과자 30여인의
출발한 중이 중
정에서 후과 된
박사 등 5인의 주
주과자와 인도에서
과전된 매수 박사가
참석되었으며 정경
이되 매치하고 유리는
과자 주교로 시가 주석
하여 리승만 박사는
수해한 후 만장 리승
만 박사가 등판하여
대한의 40년 간 투
재의사 그 50년 안전
의에 참가 운동은
들이 박사 시안 명

① 대한의 40년 간 투
재의사 그 50년 안전
의에 참가 운동은
들이 박사 시안 명

진정한 세계 평화와 안
 전이 있게 하라. 거년 5천
 년의 장수한 려사와 문
 화가 있는 한국을 증
 시해방 자유케 하라
 그리고 중립국령토는 중
 국으로 돌려내고 인도를
 해방하며 폴란드의
 영토를 침범치 않아
 야 갖당할 것이다.
 과거의 로쿠의 강함
 을 막고 적하여 일본
 을 도와서 아라사르를
 제하고 그보수로 한국
 을 무의원수 일본에
 팔아먹은 결과로 한국
 은 드대여항하고 무고
 한 3천만으로 하여 고품
 조에 도탄에 들게 하
 여 가린한 침략군남녀의
 피흘림이그얼마며?

무수한 애국자들의
 철창고혼이그얼마
 노?
 그러나 이죄악의 벌
 이엇지 한국 백성에게
 만치고 말었스랴
 미일일약에 한국
 을 회생한 그참담
 한결과 는 중립전쟁
 이생겨나서 무고한
 양민의 죽임의사태
 는 산을 이루고 피는
 흘려너 황하를 넘
 는다.
 스페르다 이재앙의
 참담한 형세는 말
 나 대평양을 건너서
 펼하버에 이르러고
 그로부터 지금까지
 또는 이대전의 중막
 이될 때까지 무고

한 형년들의 생명
 을 손실함이얼마
 노?
 한사람의 생명도 현하
 를주고 앓주지 못한
 그가치있는 귀한 목
 수미이리요
 진정한로 제영주
 평화로운위하여우
 리후생들의 생명이
 을 죽임에사구원
 하라. 거년 현명한위
 정양국의 조는 각
 오가잇스런 잔적

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김정대표단 소식
 제 3호
 김정대표단의
 예산
 4월 30일 김정대표단
 사무소에서 김정대표단
 회의를 열고 간장리승
 만백사의 승선후 재무
 부장 송현주씨와 본
 단예산표를 검토하여
 수입에서 지출은 총계
 골로 5천원으로 표준
 키로 가절되나 그비용은

THE KOREAN AMERICAN TIMES

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JULY 1, 1945

Number 55

THE WORLD IN REVIEW

By Major General David Prescott Barrows
Military Authority and former Pre-
sident of the University of California

LEND-LEASE TO SIBERIA

On the last day of the San Francisco conference, Mr. John Foster Dulles, who was an important adviser to the American delegation, is reported to have testified that the Russians were "hard traders," but he intimated also that the Russians like hard trading...

Russian intentions of aggrandizement in the Far East have been widely publicized. They should be disavowed. Supporters in this country of Russian aims have not hesitated to boast that RUSSIA INTENDS TO ACQUIRE KOREA... Moscow has been completely silent.

But Great Britain and the United States have promised independence to the Koreans, and the restoration to China of whatever has been for centuries Chinese territory.

These promises should now be written into clear agreement in which Russia should join. To leave these promises in doubt or difficult of fulfillment while we continue to aid Russian military preparation in Siberia would exhibit a complete feebleness on the part of our State Department and our other representatives.

-L.A. Examiner, June 30, 1945

SHAFFER REVEALS 'TEXT OF DEAL' INVOLVING KOREA

Says It Calls for Nation to Stay in 'Soviet Orbit'

By Walter Trohan

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 22 - In a ringing demand from the floor of the house that the State Department tell the truth about Korea, Rep. Shafer (R., Mich.) this afternoon made public the text of the reported Roosevelt-Stalin-Churchill agreement at Yalta turning over to soviet Russia the nation which is Japan's oldest enemy.

Shafer called upon State Secretary Stettinius to end diplomatic talk about whether Korea was discussed at the conference and whether an agreement, a penciled note, a typewritten note, an initialed note, a memorandum, a deal verbal or otherwise, a compact, a pledge, a promise, an arrangement, or even a portion of an intimate conversation among the Big Three decided the fate of 30-million people who have been under the Japanese yoke for 40 years.

IN RUSSIAN "ORBIT"

Shafer quoted the text of the deal as: "Great Britain and the United States agree with Russia that Korea shall remain in the orbit of influence of the Soviet Socialist Republics until after the end of

the Japanese war. It is further agreed that no commitments whatsoever shall be made to Korea by the United States and Great Britain until after the end of the Japanese war."

The Congressman charged that the State Department has been evasive with American citizens and with Dr. Syngman Rhee, first president of the provisional Government of Korea, on questions relating to Korea. He denounced the department for blocking Korean attempts to participate in the San Francisco conference.

The Korean leader was in the gallery as Shafer made his plea. Tears welled in the eyes of the man who suffered torture and imprisonment at the instigation of the Japanese for his efforts in behalf of Korean independence. He wrung the hand of the Congressman after his address.

ASKS FOR TRUTH

"I want to know the truth," Shafer declared, "and I know that the members of this congress also want to know the truth."

Shafer asserted that the rebuff and neglect of Dr. Rhee is a violation of traditional American welcoming of men and women dedicated to seeking human freedom. He cited Kossuth, Lafayette, O'Connell, O'Reilly, and Parnell. He said this coldness to the Korean leader was not in accord with the desires of the thousands of young Americans who have died fighting for freedom thus far in the war.

"I call upon the American people to demand the Americanization of their State Department," he said. "I call upon the State Department, not only to answer my questions, but to make a living reality of the San Francisco charter. Here are some of its vibrant sentences, pulsing with the warm blood of heroes. I quote:

'To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small.' - All right, what about Korea?"

CITES ANOTHER PASSAGE

"And here's another: 'Membership of the organization is open to all peace loving states.' All right.... What about Korea?"

"One more: 'All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any member or state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the organization.'

"And I ask again.... What about Korea?"

"Are we going to sell them down the river to communism?" he asked. "I believe the answer to these questions is No. I believe the churches - Protestant and Catholic - will rise to preserve the worship of Christ, for more than a million Koreans believe His words.

"I believe the answer 'No' will roar eventually from the 11 million of our men who have engaged in battle on 45 fronts of this war. I believe that their answer will be swelled by the answer of the folks at home."

-Chicago Daily Tribune- June 23, 1945.

APPEASEMENT -

A HISTORY LESSON

1905: America by secret deal sells Korea to Japan. 1910: Japan annexes Korea; immediately puts her plans of world conquest in motion. 1919: Japs massacre Korean patriots; Paris conference turns deaf to Korean pleas. 1931: Japan invades Manchuria. 1937: Japan invades China. 1941: Japan attacks Pearl Harbor. 1945: Hundreds of thousands Americans dead by Jap bullets!

1945: Yalta secret deal on Korea! Again! And then? Think!

THE CASE FOR KOREA

By Robert T. Oliver, Ph.D.
Syracuse University Press
April, 1945

(Continued from last issue)

III. THE POLICY OF OUR STATE DEPARTMENT TOWARD KOREA

The State Department has for 26 years reiterated its "official" reason for failing to recognize the Provisional Government of Korea. This asserted reason is that the Provisional Government is no different in its eyes than any of the other groups claiming to speak for the Korean people. By the makers of our foreign policy the Provisional Government--which emerged from a nationwide revolution, which was instituted by established leaders from every Province of Korea, which formed and has maintained for 26 years executive and legislative branches, which has had an annual budget running in recent years as high as \$570,000, which maintained at one time an army in the field of as many as 35,000 men, which has been hospitably sheltered by the Chinese National Government, and which has had the continuous financial support of the 10,000 Koreans in America as well as of thousands more of the Koreans in China--this Government is classed by our State Department in its official statements in exactly the same category as a number of Korean groups which are completely self-constituted, which have only a handful of backers, and which are so transitory that they seldom maintain an office or a name for more than a few months or years.

As a matter of fact, there are many divisions among the Koreans--much as there are different political parties in this country. These divisions have been encouraged and their differences accentuated by our policy of according to every claimant as much recognition as we give to the Provisional Government itself. Under these circumstances, there has been a flurry of activity by self-announced "representatives" of Korea, especially since the attack on Pearl Harbor insured our eventual defeat of Japan. Adventurers and self-seekers, as well as those having honest differences of opinion with the Provisional Government, that have been given every encouragement to seek to establish themselves as spokesmen for Korea. Whether willfully or not, our State Department has, by its policy of complete indiscriminateness, made this condition inevitable.

As a matter of fact, the Provisional Government is officially supported by every responsible Korean party. By successive reorganizations, of which the latest was on April 26, 1944, it represents a coalition of the Independent Party, the People's Revolutionary Party, the Korean Emancipation League, and the Anarchist League. The Dongji Hoi, largest organization of Koreans in this country, has warmly supported it. The Korean Communists in China, calling themselves the Korean National Revolutionary Party, in their Sixth Plenary Congress, meeting in December 1941,

pledged their support to the Provisional Government, declaring, "The endeavor should be to create a solidarity of all Koreans overseas and effect a coordination of their efforts with those of revolutionaries at home."

In addition to these party pledges, the author has personally talked to various dissident Koreans representing organizations set up by themselves. In every case he has been assured that "of course" the dissidents recognized the Provisional Government as the real representative of the Korean people. The purpose of the dissident organizations is declared by their own organizers to be primarily to effect changes in the policies of that Government--an aim precisely similar to that of a great many political groups in this country in regard to our own administration.

So obvious is it that the "official" reason given by the State Department for not recognizing the Provisional Government is not its "real" reason, that an additional explanation has of late been offered. In a communication of March 1, 1943, from Assistant Secretary Adolf Berle to Dr. Syngman Rhee, Chairman of the Korean Commission, it was blandly implied that Korea could not expect the recognition or assistance of this country until it had armies in the field actually fighting the Japanese! This to a country so disarmed that only one kitchen knife is allowed for every three families! This to a people who, despite their weaponless state, have so valiantly resisted their oppressors that the Japanese records of Korean "criminals" show numbers increasing from 36,953 in 1912 to 206,214 in 1935! This to a people who have given their young men and able-bodied adults to the number of one in every ten members of the whole population to slip away across the border into the Siberian and Manchurian hills, or into the mountain lands of northern Korea, there to carry on the fight--any kind of fight--as best they may! Without newspapers or radio, without permission to hold any public meetings, without any chance for avowed home leadership, without any effective help from other nations, the Korean patriots have fought, are fighting, and will continue to fight until the independence they prize is won. To tell them that under the circumstances their fight--against a nation that in 1941-42 was too powerful for the United States, England, and all their allies--is without avail, may be true but is not very helpful or meaningful.

These explanations of the State Department aside, there seem to be several easily discerned reasons why our recognition of the Provisional Government of Korea has been withheld.

Until December, 1941, the reason obviously was that we sought peace in the Orient at the price of permitting Japan to realize her desire for expansion. President Theodore Roosevelt hoped, in 1905, that by agreeing to surrender Korea to Japan, the Nipponese militarists would be satisfied. And for a while they were--while they developed Korea into an effective base and supply line for further attacks. While we were shipping oil and scrap iron to Japan to aid her war against China, as a means of propitiating the Nipponese War Lords, it was surely folly

to think we might enrage the Japs by recognizing the independence of her most valued colony.

Why the State Department was still averse to giving "offense" to Japan by "agitating" the Korean question in 1942 is a little harder to see. Perhaps in view of the war situation at that time, it was thought wise to maintain a possible basis for a negotiated peace. Possibly it was thought that by not "angering" the Japs, we might secure better treatment for our interned nationals. Or maybe the attitude was due entirely to long-established habit.

In view of the anxiety in some quarters to get Russia into the Asiatic War, recognition may have been withheld pending a clearer formulation of Russia's desires in regard to Korea. If this were a factor, it represented either a crass willingness to trade the independence of a small nation for the support of a large one, or a timid fear of developing any foreign policy until we were able to ascertain that it would please a powerful ally. Either motive would be one we should not expect to be avowed.

Finally, the refusal of recognition may have represented an honest feeling on the part of State Department advisers that inasmuch as the Korean Government had existed for 26 years without recognition, it could surely wait another two or three until the Japs were out, and an election could be held. This view could be supported very plausibly, except that it is predicated on the assumption that in the meantime Koreans have no rights of nationality and require no government to speak up for them.

In the meantime, while withholding recognition from the Koreans, the State Department has gradually committed itself more and more definitely to the proposition that they are indeed an independent people, and have never been legally or morally incorporated into the State of Japan. This position was summarized neatly by Assistant Secretary Adolf Berle, in his letter of March 1, 1943, to Dr. Syngman Rhee:

"It may be recalled that various steps have been taken by agencies of the United States Government whereby Korean aliens are now treated as distinct from Japanese aliens. These steps include the action of the Department of Justice in allowing Korean aliens to register as Koreans rather than as Japanese subjects, under the Alien Registration Act of 1940, the action of the Department of Justice in exempting Korean aliens from applying for certificates of identification as enemy nationals, the exemption by the Department of Justice of Koreans from compliance with regulations controlling travel and other conduct of aliens of enemy nationalities, and the action of the Governor of Hawaii, in connection with Executive Order No. 8832 amending Executive Order No. 8389 ('Freezing Order'), whereby the position of Korean aliens in Hawaii was ameliorated."

In practice, the Korean aliens in this country have generally been accorded the same treatment accorded to "friendly aliens,"

even though our official State Department position has consistently been that Korea is simply one of the Provinces of Japan. This is an anomaly that ought to be cleared up by complete and open recognition of the Provisional Government of the independent Republic of Korea.

IV. THE TIME FOR DECISION

An editorial in the New York Times signalized the 26th anniversary, on March 1, 1945, of the revolution by which the Koreans set up their Provisional Government. It reads, in part:

"The way has been long and hard for them. For more years than it is pleasant now for a citizen of the United States to recall, the leaders of the Korean independence movement truly were voices crying in the wilderness."

We Americans have a wrong to right and an opportunity to seize in granting immediate recognition to the Provisional Government of Korea. The wrong consists of our abandonment of Korea, despite the pledge of the treaty of 1882, after we invited her out of her isolation. The opportunity is a chance even at this late date to win an effective ally in the remainder of the war against Japan, and a valuable friend for the future. The geographical position of Korea makes her inevitably a vital factor in the future of the Orient. We should make sure that in shaping her future we shall have a friendly and welcome part. It is not too late, but the time for decision is now:

Finis.

*

RHEE'S WELCOME NAVY SON

Young Cadet Will Train For Commission

Cadet Jurai Rhee, second son of Mr. and Mrs. B. U. Rhee, 2704 $\frac{1}{2}$ South Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, has been spending a few days lately with his parents. He graduated from the Arkansas A & M in Monticello, Arkansas on June 24. Jurai will enter the University of Oklahoma on July 1, to start training to be an Ensign. This course takes four months, which means that the Naval cadet will receive his commission October 31. He has been brilliant in all his previous school work, and his many friends confidently expect him to make even better records during the coming months to fit himself for the service of Uncle Sam. In his previous attendance at the University of Oklahoma he was a member of its football team.

Jurai's elder brother, James Rhee, is now an interne at the University of Southern California. He will receive his doctorate in medicine next June, when he is expected to be assigned to a medical unit of the United States armed forces in China.

Prepare to trade with Korea. 23,500,000 Customers. Rich resources.

Copies of this material have been filed with the Department of Justice in Washington 25, D.C.

BARD VISIONS SPEEDIER END OF JAPAN WAR

Cites Korea's Great Naval Victory Over Foo

NEW YORK, June 23. (AP)- Undersecretary of Navy Ralph A. Bard today cited Japan's one-time life as a "hermit nation" to suggest the possibility that the Pacific war may end earlier than our "pessimists have predicted."

Bard flipped the pages of Jap history in an address in which he made a vigorous appeal for postwar maintenance of strong sea and air power to insure peace and keep conflict from this nation's shores. He spoke to graduates of Webb Institute of Naval Architecture.

The Undersecretary recalled that Japan became a "hermit nation" for two and a half centuries after being BEATEN ON THE ASIATIC MAINLAND BY THE KOREANS. (under the well-known Korean Admiral Yi Soon-shin).

The result of this defeat, first on land, then at sea, changed the whole fighting policy of Japan," he said. "Here was no fight to a suicide finish."

Instead, Bard said, the Japs withdrew completely from war, halted naval and military construction and prohibited intercourse with other nations until the visit of Commodore Perry in 1853.

"This historical fact," Bard said, "may be of interest as a commentary on the possibility of an earlier end of the Jap war than our pessimists have predicted."

-Los Angeles Examiner- June 24, 1945.

Help Korea to help finish the job over the Jap.

Extend supplies to the armed forces of the
Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea
now exiled in Chungking.

KOREAN SOLDIER REPORTS ON JAP BARBARISM

Massacre of Yanks Told

-By United Press-

CHUNGKING, June 26. - A Korean sublieutenant who deserted the Japanese at Swatow charged today that he had witnessed the bayonet massacre of 154 American and British prisoners of war at a Japanese prison camp near Zentsuji, Shikoku Island in the main Japanese group on April 26, 1944.

The Korean, whose name cannot be revealed, deserted the Japanese in March and arrived in Chungking this month (where the Korean Provisional Government, in addition to its regular military training program, re-inculcates the ideals of Democracy in large groups of Korean soldiers who escaped from the Japanese forces in China, Manchuria and Korea, and enlists them in the Korean National Army after thorough chock-up).

He said he had been forced by the Japanese to join their army and was on a mission to the Zentsuji camp when he witnessed the massacre, which he attributed chiefly to a shortage of food but also to provide practice for Japanese army recruits.

The Japs picked sick prisoners for the bayonet practice. About 220 Jap soldiers participated in the bayoneting, the Korean said. They were divided into three groups, each of which was allotted about 50 prisoners.

The prisoner of war camp was located about seven miles from the town of Zentsuji in a mountainous area so no civilians witnessed the execution. Other prisoners, however, saw the whole proceedings.

The Japs, he said, tied each prisoner to a wooden cross and the Jap major in charge made a speech to the victims, telling them: "You are all Christians and it will be glory for you to die in the same way as Jesus Christ. As Jesus Christ had a resurrection in three days you will certainly have one also." The major then ordered his soldiers to attack the prisoners.

The Korean said the Japs were inexperienced and "shivered" so that they could not wield their bayonets effectively. They were seldom able to kill a man with one stroke. He said the slaughter continued until 5 p.m. that day with all the Jap officers and men of the camp watching the procedure.

The Korean said the Japs had five large camps for prisoners of war in Japan proper, in the vicinity of Kukakawa, near Tokyo; Zentsuji, Fukuoka on Kyushu, and Moji and Shimonoski in the western part of Japan. He said there were three large camps in Korea at Seoul and Chemulpo; one at Kwelung, Formosa, and another at Kiangwan near Shanghai. He said he understood Gen. Jonathan Wainwright was at Zentsuji and British Gen. A. E. Percival, who surrendered at Singapore, at Chemulpo.

-Los Angeles Daily News- June 26, 1945.

The following is a communication received by the President of the Korea Society of Soldiers and Sailors Relatives and Friends:

United States Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Areas
Headquarters of the Commander in Chief, 30 May, 1945.

Rev. Peong Koo Yoon, 2149 W. 31st Street, Los Angeles, California.

Dear Mr. Yoon:

Thank you for your letter of May 10 enclosing the article written by General Barrows, and for your good wishes.

You may be sure we shall exercise every opportunity to pursue and attack the enemy in an effort to bring about a speedy and victorious conclusion to the war.

With best wishes. Sincerely yours, (Signed) C. W. NIMITZ
Fleet Admiral, USN

REDS TO ABSORB KOREA IN YALTA DEAL, SAYS RHEE

Charges 'Secret Pact' Among Big Powers

By Walter Trohan

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 2 - Dr. Syngman Rhee, first president of the Provisional Government of Korea, tonight said in an interview that he is prepared to disclose Russian plans to absorb Korea, a nation of 30 million people, which has been battling Japanese aggression for 40 years.

The Korean leader is ready to release the text of a secret agreement concluded at Yalta under which Korea, with its vast resources and strategic position, is to be turned over to the Soviets.

"The discovery of this secret agreement was made by a man whose word is unimpeachable," said Dr. Rhee. "He vouches for the authenticity of his discovery and offers to prove its truth."

LETTER NOT ANSWERED. Dr. Rhee said he had called upon Russia to deny the existence of the agreement and to state the Soviet policy toward Korea, but his letter was never answered. The plea was addressed to Soviet Ambassador Andrei Gromyko.

"Your excellency is fully aware, I am sure, of the fact that Korea will never acquiesce in any postwar plan short of complete restoration of her lost independence without qualifications," the Rhee letter said. "Our people everywhere feel profoundly disturbed."

Dr. Rhee disclosed that he is prepared to prove the existence of the secret Yalta agreement on Korea, as he returned from the San Francisco world security conference where Korea was denied a seat by the United States, although this country was pledged to establishment of a free and independent Korea at the Cairo conference between President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

APPEAL FOR SEAT DENIED. The Korean appeal for a seat at the conference was turned down by Durwood Sandifer, secretary general of the United States Delegation, in an official communication which stated that it would be premature to accord Korean leaders recognition as a Korean government. The rejection added that in the light of the fact there is no government "which is recognized by any of the united nations, the United States delegation could not appropriately sponsor participation in the conference by a Korean delegation."

Dr. Rhee said that Sandifer maintained this position altho the Koreans were able to prove that the provisional Korean government has been recognized by both the Chinese and the French republics.

The Korean leader said he was also put off because Korea was not a member of the United Nations as of March 1, but Argentina, Syria, Lebanon, White Russia, and Ukrainia were granted seats at the conference although they were not previously in the "united nations" class.

WOULD NOT JOIN REDS. "It would seem that Korea was not granted a seat because the provisional government refused to join with the handful of Korean Communists," Dr. Rhee said. "No nation can establish an absolute unity between the communist minority and the nationalist majority. It is our solemn intention to establish a government modeled after that in the United States. Can it be that this is contrary to the policy of the united nations?"

"Without any question it will be most difficult for Russia to communize Korea if we were to be admitted to the assembly of nations. This admission was denied us. It would seem, then, that it is desired that we be communized."

SOUGHT RECOGNITION. Dr. Rhee said that for three and a half years he and fellow Koreans have been seeking recognition of the Korean Provisional Government, lend-lease aid, a membership on the Pacific war council, admittance to the UNRRA, Dumbarton Oaks, and finally the San Francisco conference, but to no avail.

"There are American citizens who want to know why this unjust discrimination against the Koreans. It is evident that the truth -- that Russia has a plan for Korea -- cannot be told. How can any one in authority say we cannot help the Koreans because the Russians have a certain plan for that country.

This is not the first time that Korea has been the victim of

secret diplomacy. But the Korean people are just as firm against being sold out for the second time in 40 years. Koreans will never surrender in their fight for justice and liberty."

-Chicago Daily Tribune- June 3, 1945.

CHINESE FAVOR KOREAN INDEPENDENCE

CHUNGKING, May 21. By Associated Press.- A manifesto issued today at the conclusion of the Sixth National Kuomintang Congress expressed gratitude to the United States, Britain and Russia for aid given China...

Only by the liberation of Manchuria, the return of Formosa to China, the restoration of independence to Korea, and total extermination of Japanese aggression "may we consider victory to be completely won," the document added.

-The New York Times- May 22, 1945.

CHINESE BISHOP ASKS RECOGNITION OF KOREA

SAN FRANCISCO, May 23.- Bishop Paul Yu-pin, Roman Catholic primate of China, expressed hope today that the Chinese delegation to the United Nations conference would endeavor to obtain recognition of the Korean Government "so that the 30,000,000 Korean people can be utilized immediately in the fight against Japan."

Speaking as the representative of some thirty Chinese organizations, Bishop Yu-pin declared that the pledge of the British, United States and Chinese leaders at the Cairo conference to grant independence to Korea "in due course" is now. He added: "We need their help now in the fight against the Japanese."

A native of the northeastern part of China adjoining Korea, Bishop Yu-pin said he knew the Korean people and admired their long underground fight against the Japanese. Also, he said, he was acquainted with the leaders of the Korean Government-in-exile and regarded them as "very capable people."

He pointed out that only China and France have given even de facto recognition to the Korean Government and expressed the hope that more of the United Nations would recognize that government pending the liberation of Korea, when a new government can be democratically elected.

-The New York Times- May 26, 1945.

U.S. BLASTS JAP SHIPS OFF KOREA

GUAM, June 29. (AP)- Twenty-three enemy surface craft were sunk or damaged Wednesday and Thursday by American planes off Korea and in the southern Ryukyus, headquarters reported today.

Off Korea and in Japanese home waters on those two days, search planes of Fleet Air Wing One sank 15 and damaged 8 enemy ships..... Admiral C. W. Nimitz said enemy planes dropped a few bombs in the Okinawa area Wednesday "without damage to our forces."

① 우리의 살결

권일선

우리의 살결은 오직 몸
 지는데 있다. 물론 하
 나 하나씩 생명부지
 야 못할 것이 없다
 그러나 그렇게 구하
 게 사는 것이 옳지 리
 상적이 될고 다만 살
 려이다. 이산다는 의의
 는 다만 나와나만 살
 자는 것이 아니라 오 전
 도 전민족이 각이 살
 자는 말이려 새삼스럽게
 살자란 말이다
 이산다는 문제가 크다
 면 한정(정)이 크고 구
 부(부)하게 산다면 아주
 의의가 없다. 다만 살
 려이다

지금 세계가 모든 사물
 서 피우려는 것을 만
 여 생명과 재산을 희
 생하는 것이 그 전살
 하는 것이 아니라 내
 다 좀더 잘 살자는 말
 내민족이 내민족보다
 더 잘 살자는 것은 피
 수 없는 사실이다

우리의 민족도 조금
 자면 우리끼리 조금
 야 다른 민족을 따라
 이고 그놈을 해를 조
 배아서 우리도 조금
 살아보세다 하고 하
 연한가 우리끼리 우리
 의 허물을 그집어내
 판놈들의게까지 알
 려 우리 민족을 남의
 라 사람덜의게까지
 밟치는 그인사들은
 나 소견이 조금이고
 백제이다

옛날 실업은 인도라
 칭하는 문은 리승만
 를 공격하는 글을 뉴
 의 카임쓰에 다 열
 리를 다 하야 글을 썼
 그러나 그결과가 무엇
 인가? 그글을 내
 자 식견이 있는 사
 들은 오히려 당
 의 용렬한 것을 우
 슌배인이나 달아서
 조선민족이 이개하
 다는 소리만 커 들을
 커서 없다

다만 그대들의 돈이나
 업서 짓지 않으면
 한 것이 무엇인가
 필자는 결코 리
 사를 두로 한이 안
 니오 그대들의
 지 못한 것은 안
 카가 뭐한가

또한 필자는 강선 들을
 이워하지 않고 다만 당신들
 의 일시적 사감을 전
 민족을 유되게 하는 것
 을 미칠 할 뿐이다
 리백사는 그대들과 같이
 서지만 하고 그대들을
 탄하지 아니 하는 것만
 전을 면 하고 안 할
 우업과 그러나 나는
 리백사를 꼭 들리고
 는 안 한다 다만 무
 는 리유가 밟다는 것
 까지 리해하나 그대
 들과 같이 야만치지 안
 니 하는 것만 그가 내
 성이 있다고 한다

모든 공금을 지체
 업(업) 함
 (미한)

영원히 먹으려거든 우
리의 문헌을 그대로 계속
하자. 해방하면 잘 살고
난호이면 잘 못 사는가
다시 말하자면 살든 타
도 남에게 천대를 안
지 말로 사갈다운 생활
을 하면서 남과 같고
잘 살자는 말이오
죽더라도 무슨 리나와
꽃이 자기 일신을 위한
부지영화에 눈말이 먼
게서 동포가 살후
지면은 양할 것 또 다 나
가 망할 것도 잘 내다보
지 못하오. 독재 정 치
만 호자 유지하려고 하
다가 나라를 망쳐 노코 참
로구히 깨우쳐 매달리어
죽어쓰니 우리의 정계
할바이다
우리의 문헌이 강은데
도 개인의 영광과 세력을

국가 전체의 영광이 나
서 려부터 다 탐내는데
가업지 안키 때문에
우리의 국가 운명에 해
등이 안된다. 우리는
이러다가 무슨 리나와
꽃이 더럽게 죽지 말
고 물은 일을 하
죽자는 말이야. 죽어
만엔 세상을 떠난
무스벨트 대통령의
과실이 자국을 구하고
전 세계 각국 민중의
자유해방과 인권유
등을 위한 기초하고도
과가 없다. 이 문헌은
이 세상을 떠나지만은
임금의 위대한 공적
은 편지나 사서나
것이다. 우리도 이 세상
에 살아서 사갈다운
생활과 부귀를

파괴하고 망쳐 놓는 우리의
문헌을 바쳐 버리고 해방동
해가 되겠다. 우리의 문헌
문헌은 강령 제 1항과
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서로 편안을 다고 서로 다
투로 집안 문헌을 바쳐
사람에게 헌정한다면
헌정 문헌은 정치 사
이 이런 집안을 가라
무엇이 라고 말하겠
가? 투쟁 할 것
이 이런 집안은 망할
집이라고 할 것이다
이런 문헌 가정 사
은 과거 망신이라고
리가 지라도 중, 말
기된다
국가라 함은 인민과
강도를 등 돌리
말한 것이 국가이다
한국의 강도는 우리
가 사랑하는 집이오

그 강도에서 대, 손, 이
나서 사랑하는 우리는
이 집안 한 식구이다
그러므로 대한 인민
리를 가라쳐서 헌정
헌정 제자대라고 한다
우리는 문명이 한 집안
식구요. 또한 헌정 제
대가 되는 것을 피치 못
할 것을 얻어 해한
헌정 제자대에 서로 문
쟁을 한다면 그 집은
음망 당할 것이다
이러므로 옛날 국가
를 문으로 하고 그 인
이 문쟁을 일으키는
면 그 인민의 집 국가
가 무력한 것이다
다시 말하면 강령 제 1항
한대 문치스 헌정의
그 집은 다시 스 헌

이로써 아직 독립할 수
되지 못하였는 것은
이로 인하여 독립한 연
고인도 인종 독립을 누가
부릴 수 있을지 모르나
영국이 식한 것이 아닌
영국이 인도 민족을 분
할 수 있는가라는 인도 민
족의 독립을 독립
할 수 있는지를 모르나
영국이 식한 것이 아닌
영국이 인도 민족을 분
할 수 있는가라는 인도 민
족의 독립을 독립

하게 되는 것은 사실이다
그러나 전의 선생의 부려
향주의가 너도 인도자
하고 결속하여 영국의
통치권을 물리치지 못
한다고 볼 수도 있는 것
이다. 그리치만은 개별
선생의 무관향주의의
소구에 승수어 있는 것은
영국의 이익을 위한 것은
사실이다
강한 영국의 독립행
동으로서는 내물수어는
것을 아는 것의 선생은
양을 한 태도의 무관
향주의의 색채로 보는
만장한 부려향 활동
의 기초가 서게 되는 것
에는 독립행동이 이러
저나를 것은 그의 학이
결로 알 것 이나 인도
독립할 기회가 아지
모르지 않는 것은 무관
향주의가 그러하는 것

다 인도 민족의 독립
되기 때문이라는 것이
다른 말이다
인도 민족의 독립은
분명히 인도 민족은
치하는 영국의 사
만든 것이다. 그러나 우
리의 포한 인의 독립
은 누가 만드려 노아는
가?
인도 민족의 독립
은 영인이 만든 것과
같은 우리의 독립이
하는 왜놈이 부려
금에까지 다라와서
우리 사회 인도자들을
제해서 서로 망하고
공부 독립을 시작
는가?
물론 왜놈들이
우리 민족을 내디에서
는 무관향을 식히려
고 영국의 방법과

수단으로 시키려 하
할지라도 부려향에게
그러하는 우리에게서
도움고 노년도 영
다. 우리의 독립은
리가 스스로 할 수
리가 만는 것이 아니라
인이 영인인물 남이라
는 것과 같은 우리
왜놈을 남으로 할 것
이고 다만 우리들
오랫 것이 오자 현
해오도 이라고 단
없다
이상에 상을 한
의 현과는 분명히
러한 것이 이프
의 신으로 사상은
히말자 아야 회
우리가 산에서
러한 하하고 주
라도 영원히 우리

평화회에서의

우리의 할 일

방사점

결혼

결혼이 각자가 양으로 계속하여
나 개려 한다면 우리 독립
운동에 걸과 하도 과거나
현재에 광변한 형편은 불
가할 것이다

이것을 더 이유로 말
하면 한 농부가 적고
조금씩 심어 놓고 매
일 일손을 들여 밭을 매
고 갖구는데 드는 것이
불순하였다 그러나 심
은 씨에서 나오는 것이 업
스니 밭에서 결실도 업
서 농사에 실패를 당
한 농부가 그 이유에
적고 조금씩 심을 때 심
어 놓고 결실이 잇서

추수하기를 고대한다
면이 농부를 여러
씩 하고 안이 할 수
업다

우리가 평한 사람 특별
히 미조한 것과 간혀
를 지도한 것은 일본들이
각각 각과를 지어 가지고
제각 각자 각양으로
독립운동을 하기 때문
에 과거에도 아모 필과
업시 실패하였고 또 필
하러 사정을 부러 모
까지 과거에 실패한 것은
들이 과거에 수용하는
적고 조금씩 그 땅사대로
도 당과를 지어 가지고
독립운동을 한다고
드러와지 만은 오늘날
모질 것은 하나도 업스
나 이분들은 적은지
를 또 심어서 거듭 심

과를 당하는 어리석은
농부와 같다고 안이 할
수 없다

우리의 독립운동을

을 지도하는 각과과의
립수들은 이같이 어
리석은 농부와 같이
적고 조금씩 사생인
분당을 지어 가지고
독립운동을 하
가 과거에 실패한 그
분한 행동을 조금
도 변함 업서 그제도
그 땅사대로 오늘날
도 분한 행동을 게
속한다면 언을 짓
이 무어인가
내가 짓기 전에 우리독
립운동에 큰 방해와
지독한 두기를 주는
우리의 분열을 하
맛미 파괴하여 마

하도동이 되어 유력한 민
중이 된다면 조금씩
무나 미국 정부에서 우리

고민서 정부 승인을
피해는 가라리 업을
오 또 상항 안전회
에서 우리와 대포자
매취기지만 엇을
가 이것을 흥을
마로 말하자면 우리
립수라는 분들이 각
무당을 지어 가지고
금독립운동을 자
러네 단테 운동자의
하기때문에 우리전
민족을 위한 농가는
동네 적지 안은 손
를 주었다고 안할 수
업다
우리의 분열은 누
가만드려 보았는가?

西日政治戰未曾停息
 同時，高麗及菲律賓
 等愛國志士亦分頭
 努力，雖吾國人以其白
 寇抗，用是眾志成
 城，以權頑寇，使日寇
 出盡九年二虎之力，在
 作心勞日拙，但高麗
 及菲律賓人民，何如
 此努力抗敵，蓋有動
 機存焉。此等弱水民族
 之苦心，不過希望
 盟國予以助力，在被
 壓迫中獲得解放
 獲得獨立。舍此便無
 另有較為且最高尚之
 目的，今日世界大戰
 中，盟軍已穩握勝
 利之左券，世界安
 全大會，開會於金

門，世界各國之參
 加者，現計有二十七
 國之衆，締擁有三
 千萬人口之高麗，
 尚被阻於官牆，不
 見百官之好，不見
 宗廟之羨，此亦
 未免不公平乎？
 時人以此次盟國反
 侵略戰爭，係以
 解放為口號，對
 亞洲人類解放予
 高麗之不慮遺
 忘，何具有最大之
 理由在也

一九四五年六月三日
 桑港
 國民日報

July 4

1945

SALUTE, AMERICA!

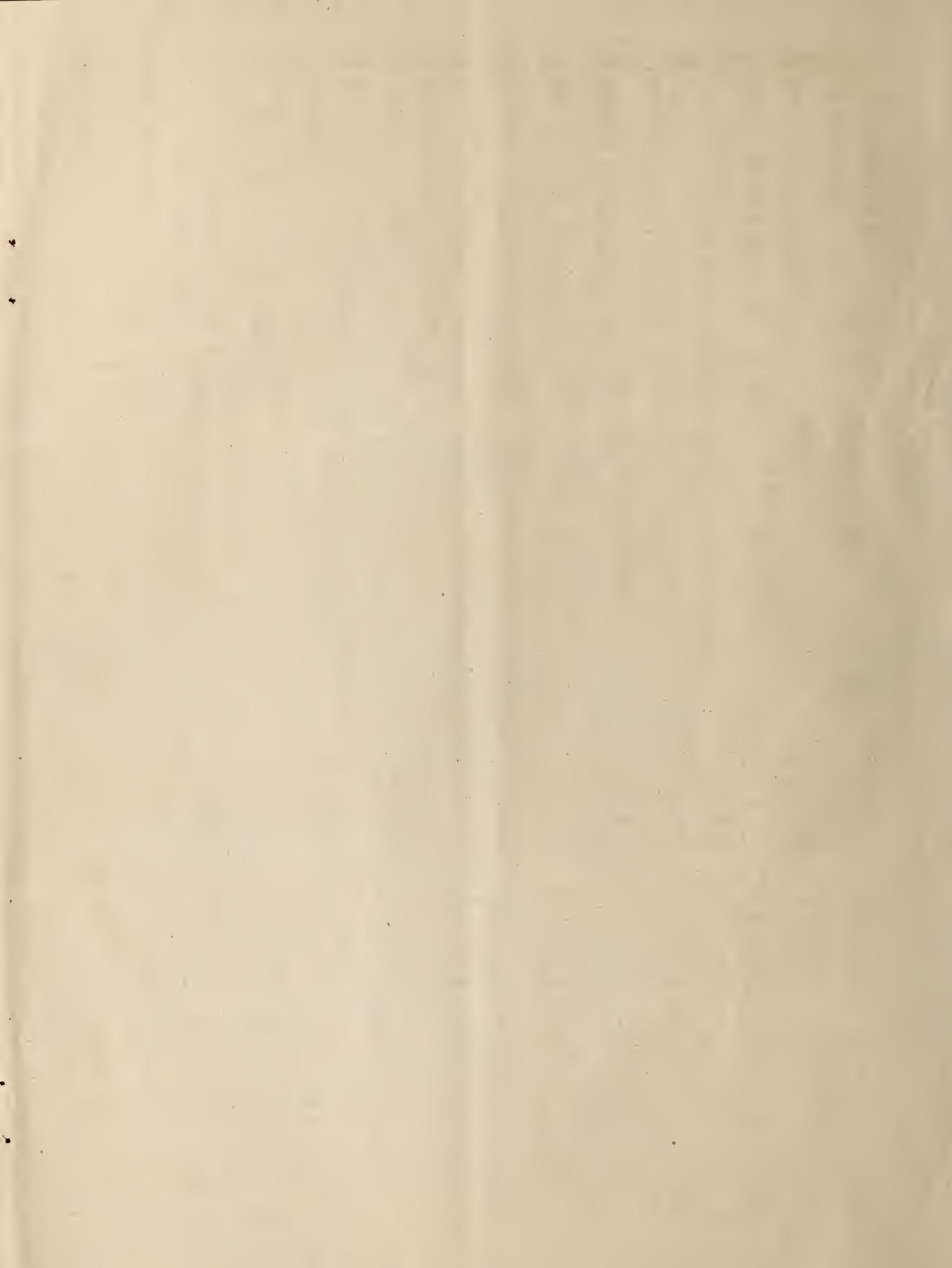
America, Land of Liberty, accept our hearty salute on this your glorious Birthday of Freedom! We Koreans, still in bondage, and fearful of slavery under yet another even more imperialistic alien master, longingly look to your celebration of INDEPENDENCE DAY with hopes for a similar occasion of our own - soon.

Long in your humanitarian history, you helped many struggling nations to their feet. You are not yet too old, thank God, to con-

tinue in your magnificent tradition. America's own attainment of liberty was made possible by the aid of another Democratic nation. Korea asks you to assume such a worthy role for Democracy now.

Korea places great faith in you, America! You signed a solemn treaty with us in 1882. You never abrogated it. It still stands. But you appeased Japan in 1905 at our expense. You did not help us in 1910. You were unable to aid us in 1919. You ignored us in 1922. Japan's attack on you, America, in 1941 was the direct consequence of all this. There must not be another appeasement at our expense!

Korea still has faith in you, America. Whatever you do, dear America, please do not betray our faith this time! Happy Birthday to you, and many returns of the day!



難當中，尚竭力扶助其臨時政府之設立，及光復軍之組訓，一則以為實現反侵略之共同目標，一則亦抱同情之心，希望高麗革命黨人，在艱難奮鬥中，獲得獨立之恢復也。且在此次大會宣言中，並聲明協助高麗之獨立，此足見中國雖在抗敵艱苦之關頭，未嘗一刻遺忘高麗者也。

吾人認為高麗之爭取獨立，係絕對需要，而且在事勢上絕對不能否認其應享有獨立之權利，何以言之，高麗原係一國獨立之國家，自被日寇吞滅後，始失去自主權，此次盟軍為反侵略者，為解放被壓迫民族而作戰，對於高麗之扶助及承認其獨立，僅係一種恢復性質，而非破例從新產生者也。其次高麗擁有三千萬人口，比於歐洲中等國家為大，即在菲律賓共和國，人口亦只及高麗之一半，而美國慨然允諾及協助菲律賓之實現獨立，何獨對高麗斯而不與之乎？高麗係高麗人民之高麗，並非日本之高麗，耶穌有言：凱撒者應歸凱撒，耶穌者應歸耶穌，吾人希望高麗應歸回高麗人民。

不能受任何外國之統治，而承認高麗之獨立，亦不應忽視而遺忘之者也。

日寇於此次大會中，曾以亞洲為亞洲人之亞洲，相號召，以「亞洲共榮圈」為向亞洲人民作政治宣傳之口號，但亞洲人民早已認識日寇之侵略野心，而不受其迷惑，故日寇之宣傳根本不發生效力，但何以會使日寇之宣傳揭破，主要者因中國努力抗戰，為亞洲方面反抗日寇之大本營，中國為揭破日寇之掙奪真

為亞洲解放戰
不西女遺忘高麗

伯璜

高麗被日寇吞滅後，迄今有三十五年。高麗人民處在日寇鐵蹄統治下，殘酷暴虐，幾同地獄。而高麗人民及愛國志士，誓死與日寇抗爭，嘗一刻稍息，彼炸彈轟炸白川大將，^{重擊之}烈々與惡魔搏鬥，其氣概比諸世界上任何革命運動之壯烈，殊無愧色。蓋高麗人民竭力掙脫枷鎖，急求解放之志使然也。

中國對日抗戰以還，高麗革命愛國志士，即在中國境內，號召其人民共同抗日，而組成韓國臨時政府及光復軍部隊。此種及侵略者之行動，早在太平洋大戰以前，已有正確之建樹。五四年間羅維會議宣言，聲明高麗獨立之可能，獨立，此項發表無異在原則上已承認高麗之可能獨立。不只高麗人民，聆此消息，正如雲霓之得大旱，不勝其感願。即在亞洲人民，亦具有極大之同情，尤其中國方面對於高麗之恢復獨立，素願竭力以助其成功者也。何則？高麗在二千餘年歷史中，歷來係獨立，雖

對中國稱藩臣，而中國並未曾將高麗設郡縣，依然保持其政治上之獨立。更從未有施行強迫之性質，所以高麗根本係一個獨立之國家，一切言語文字生活習慣等，自成獨立系統，此一點，高麗人民認識者至深。在中國方面，認爲高麗是同在亞洲之鄰國，惟此鄰國被日寇吞併後，建立其間始侵略各亞洲大陸之橋樑。中國之東北邊陲，從此多事。這無寧寧歲，中國對於高麗，以處抗戰艱

타의 이익을 위하여 일관할 것은
하와이 총회로써 실시하여
총회로써 그 목적을 이루고자 할 것
은 주종으로 총회로써 실시하기로
의하

주요위원은 문맹의 인
체사상을 총회로써
주요위원은 위원은 주
수인으로 정하고 의회인
하와이 인을 두기로 결정하

주요위원은 관할하기 위하
아 주종으로 정하고 위원은
서 선정하고 위원장은 협
조위원회와 각종 회에 유위
원장을 각 1인씩 두기로
결한다

선거방법

주요위원과 부위원장은
일만투표로써 선출하며
주요위원은 위원장은
이선 선거하기로 결한다

위원의 임기

위원장은 매 3년에 1회 임하고
위원과 부위원장은 매 1년에
1회 임하고 체임으로 정하
다

주요위원의 자격은 문맹
원으로써 주종으로 다하며
교육 정도는 상당한 자격

자로 선하기로 결의함

위치

주요위원회의 위치는
정을 맡아 광천(미로)에
시설하기로 결한다

미로기 중선 연락은 더
적게 하기 위하여 여섯
이상은 정의로 하되 미
서는 종부가 청의 협
하기로 결정한다

토의
의무금, 독립금, 출사
금 등 일만재정에 관하
문제와 관련된 주종
위원회에서 연구 보고
로함

시국선후대책 강구위원
9인을 선정하여 자
제서로 선출
류정상 김민석 송현
신성근 리병영 송현
신종호 박호은 송현은
본방은 구사은 등 3인
모집하여 리병영 부재
우부도 송나복하여 구사
은 등을 추천하기로 결
하되 독립금과 외교비와
구사은은 각 2명씩 따로
수할하여 구사은 등 3
독립금은 리병영 재부
로함

로 의고는 문맹의 의고
원부도 송나복으로 정
송나복의 임기는 정
송나복은 문맹은 그
기관인 외교비 등을
송나복하되 리병영은
부에서 주종과 다
회로 주종할 것을 외교
위원장이 제 연구하
기로함

리병영 김민석 송현
송현영 김병직
리병영

구차정비대하여 미주
에 있는 구차위원이
하고 구차위원이
수령고환하여 결
결정함

본방에서 선출한 후
본방에서 수령하는
본방의 외교비 사용
기로함

리병영 김민석 송현
송현영 김병직
리병영

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기로함

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송현영 김병직
리병영

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에 있는 구차위원이
하고 구차위원이
수령고환하여 결
결정함

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기로함

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리병영

구차정비대하여 미주
에 있는 구차위원이
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수령고환하여 결
결정함

본방에서 선출한 후
본방에서 수령하는
본방의 외교비 사용
기로함

리병영 김민석 송현
송현영 김병직
리병영

구차정비대하여 미주
에 있는 구차위원이
하고 구차위원이
수령고환하여 결
결정함

경하고 구차위원이
정하여 서로 상의
기로함

주요위원은 소
에 선거하여 각종
말포하기로 결
금면 미포대
결정사항의 실행
은 소수인
리병영 김민석 송현
송현영 김병직
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결정함

북미시보

주요기사
주요기사

동지회 사무처
전화 PA 8-1-1
경음 송현영

동지회 제1회

미포대포대회 결산

제1회 미포대포대회 결산

미국 27년 5월 26일

하오시에 북미총회관

내에서 개최한다

하오시 주양부

전선대표 류정상

북미총회

각지방대표

남가주지방

허성현정림대리

조중익 윤영주

백광관 임상희

중가주지방

김진목 신중호

송태은대리 리살을

송현영대리 리의숙

김형식대리 류순자

북가주지방

정몽룡대리 심상근

오래포지방

리은선대리 리영녕

몬타나 지방

전선수대리 송현

시카고 지방

김홍기대리 송현영

남정현대리 리영영

뉴욕 지방

김세현대리 리영영

의장 김송림씨 유고

을참으로 리살을

병주 량씨가 의장으로

피선되고 석리로 김진

목, 송현영 량씨가

피선되다

본회총재의 지시안과

각지방의 안을 수정하

기위하여 수정위원 3

인을 선출하니

류정상, 리영영

송현영, 제씨리하

정몽룡, 정강제정위원

7인을 선출할새

류정상, 송현

리영영, 윤영주

리살을, 심상근, 송현영 등 제씨가 피선되다

명칭

대한인 동지회를

대한 민족당으로

개칭하고 영명으로는

Korean Nationalist

Democratic Party

토정하기로 결함

본당은 정치, 외교, 군사

문등으로 광복사업을

추진케 함

재대한 3대정당의 주도로

좌의 3정당을 침투키

로 가결되다

1. 본당은 대한 민족의 결

대 독립을 주장함

2. 본당은 민족주의를

수립하여 이로써 정체

를 건설함

3. 본당은 활민 운동으로

로써 대한민국의 자

유와 생명개산을 보

장함

정책

9개정책을 다음과 같이

결정하다

1. 임시정부가 한국에 들어

가서 총선거를 실시할

시까지 절대로 모용대함

2. 선거권은 남녀 평등으로

토함

3. 국제통상을 장려함

4. 해외의 불법소유는

국유로 물을수하고 사

유재산은 조국법치정하

기로 주장함

5. 독립유족을 존상하는

자는 조국법을 집행기로

주장함

6. 의무교육을 전구적으로

로 실시키로 주장함

7. 한국초등교육을 위하여 의무

군사교련을 실시키로 주

장함

8. 국제평화를 위하여 야한

국군병을 일본을 정

할하기로 주장함

9. 종교, 언론, 언론

집회 등 자유를 보장

하기로 주장함

현존한 미국 각 지방회를

관할하는 북미총회와 같이

THE KOREAN AMERICAN TIMES

November 1945.
Vol. III: No. . . .



K O R E A

85,228 Square miles.
28,500,000 Population.
4,276 yrs. Civilization.
4,000 miles Railway.
Fine bus network
throughout the Nation.
3,000,000,000 tons
Coal deposits.
4,500,000 kilowatt
Hydro-electric power.
Tungsten, Mica, Gold,
Graphite, Cement,
Timber, Fisheries, Rice.

Yellow Sea

Quolpart

JAPAN

CHIANG SEES PEACE TIED TO FREE KOREA

China's Leader Pledges Effort to Aid Independence--
Urges Amity With U. S., Soviet.

CHUNGKING, China, Nov. 4 (U.P.)--Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said today that peace for East Asia and the world hinged upon the speedy achievement of independence for Korea. He pledged that China would consult with Russia, the United States and Great Britain regarding self-government for Korea, which had been ruled by the Japanese for thirty-five years.

Generalissimo Chiang addressed some 200 Korean Nationalist leaders and members of the Kuomintang's General Executive Committee on the eve of departure for Seoul of the Provisional Korean Government, "which has maintained headquarters in Chungking during eight years of war.

All Korean groups must cooperate fully with the American and Soviet occupation troops, Generalissimo Chiang said, pending the time when a decision can be reached regarding independence. He pledged that the "fixed policy" of the Chinese Government was to aid in that achievement.

Calls for a United Korea

He called for Korea to unite under the leadership of Kim Koo, President of the Provisional Government.

Mr. Koo, Foreign Minister Josowang and the Minister of Information, David Um, will leave by plane with some thirty other Korean Nationalist leaders tomorrow for Shanghai. From there they will be taken in American transport planes to Seoul.

Before his departure Mr. Koo told newspaper men that he and his associates could not tolerate any partition of Korea--apparently referring to the present division of the country into two zones, occupied by American and Soviet forces.

He said that he hoped to strengthen Korea's friendship both with the United States and Britain and with China and Russia, whose borders adjoin Korea. He pledged the establishment of a democratic government through popular suffrage.

Generalissimo Chiang was emphatic in his warning that all East Asia was watching the fate of Korea.

UNITED NATIONS VICTORY LOAN PAGEANT

People will gather in native costume from all parts of the world, representing thirty-six Nations, to buy Victory Bonds and to cement ties and friendship at THE ROSE BOWL - - PASADENA on Sunday, November 18th, commencing at 10 A. M.

continued

"China has always recognized the importance of Korea for peace in the Far East. There is a famous phrase, 'If the lips are gone the teeth are cold.' An independent Korea protects the teeth of the East. I believe the whole interpretation of the security program is futile as long as the nations of the world fail to understand that phrase. All the Japanese barbarism of forty years, which no other people are capable of exceeding, failed to keep Korea down. "

KOREAN REDS CURB ACTIVITIES

SEOUL, Korea, Nov. 7 (U.P.)--The Korean Communist party has agreed to suspend some "particular political views and activities" until Korea attains independence, it was announced today by Dr. Syngman Rhee, president of the Republican Government part.

"I feel deep gratitude toward Communist leaders and leaders of other parties for the patriotism shown in sacrificing their own interests at the altar of unifications," Dr. Rhee said.

A UNITED, FREE KOREA

The New York Times, November 6, 1945

The numerous political parties, or factions, in Korea, which numbered forty-three at the last count, are having difficulty agreeing among themselves on the type and character of the government they want for a free Korea, or even on the means of achieving that end. That is not surprising. With their country split into American and Russian zones of occupation, between which there is little communication, and with no promise whatever as to when they can expect the occupying troops to leave, the Koreans are operating in a political vacuum. Perhaps the arrival of Kim Koo, the 70-year-old President of the Korean Provisional Government that was organized in Seoul in 1919 and has maintained itself in China since, may help them to arrive at a measure of unity not now evident.

Despite the disunity shown, there appears to be one matter on which all parties and factions are agreed. They want removed the artificial barrier set up along the Thirty-eighth Parallel that now divides their country and they want the occupying countries to return Korea to its people to let them work out their own problems. It is difficult to see how they can be expected to show either unity or achievement of any political stability until the artificial division is abolished and they are at least given some date toward which they can work.

The Koreans received strong support for these views from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as he bade goodby to Kim Koo and his Provisional Government associates as they left their seat of exile in Chungking on the first stage of their journey to Seoul. "For

RHEE WARNS KOREA OF MANY MASTERS

Former Provisional President Urges Factions to
Unite to Win Full Independence

By Richard J. H. Johnston
By Wireless to The New York Times

SEOUL, Korea, Nov. 7--While enthusiasm is high over generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's statement that the speedy independence of Korea was a key to peace in East Asia and the world, Dr. Syngman Rhee, former President of the Provisional Government of Korea, warned today that the suggestion for a "trusteeship" meant "the exchange for one master for many."

Speaking for the first time by radio to Koreans Dr. Rhee said "the most urgent thing for us is to lay aside differences, for if we are incapable of taking any effective measures, though aware of the imminent danger, things will take their own course and we shall be undone forever, no matter how strongly we protest against it afterward."

Dr. Rhee, who has been here since Oct. 16 as a "private citizen," has been trying to bring together at least fifty political parties and factions and present to the world evidence of Korea's unity.

"We had only one master, Japan," he declared. "But if the worst comes about we shall be to serve many masters. Can there be any doubt that the most urgent thing is for us to band together laying aside our differences, and thus show we are able to manage our own business?"

Dr. Rhee stressed that progress was being made in this direction by pointing out that various factions had agreed on full cooperation in forwarding to the Allies a resolution asking that the division of the country between the Russians and Americans be ended.

"The greatest difficulty in the way of unification is connected with communism," Dr. Rhee said. "Other nations are torn asunder by schisms caused by communism, and from the beginning we dreaded the same thing happening to us."

Dr. Rhee said that "Republic Government of Korea" was not a government but a political party. He added that he had been supporting the provisional government and standing by Kim Koo, its president, and other leaders and "therefore cannot get involved in setting up another government without arrangements with various quarters."

Commenting this afternoon on Generalissimo Chiang's statement, Dr. Rhee said:

continued -

"We desire to know who was responsible for this situation. We ask you for a clear statement of fact, so important to determine the fate of Korea. "

The Koreans said that they could "set their house in order " within a year, with the help of the Allies, that they would hold national elections on democratic principles within a year after the "Provisional Government" had been recognized and that they would cooperate with the United Nations.

"Resent" Present Treatment

"We resent being treated like a conquered enemy," The resolution added.

After the resolution had been approved Dr. Rhee appointed an executive committee of seven to work out a plan of action for the further solidification of political efforts.

The leader of the left-wing elements, Woon Hang-lyuh, who last week pledged his full support to Dr. Rhee's efforts to bring about a unity of political efforts in Korea continued to back up Dr. Rhee today. Voicing opposition to several points of the resolution he repeatedly took the floor in a heated discussion but yielded to Dr. Rhee's plea "to discuss our internal political differences at a later date when we have established ourselves in the eyes of other nations."

(The United Press said the the Communists resented any reference to the dividing line of control in Korea and the fact that Premier Stalin's name was not mentioned in the resolution.)

KOREAN DOCTOR, HERE, URGES RUSSIA TO QUIT HOMELAND

Washington Star Nov. 8, 1945

Dr. Long Woon Whong, who arrived in Washington yesterday with nine Korean medical graduates, today urged Russian withdrawal from Korea.

Speaking at the weekly chapel service of the American University College of Arts and Sciences, he implied that the Korean people are no more free today than under Japanese domination.

Dr. Whong pointed out that Koreans are not permitted to travel from one occupation zone to another, which keeps many Korean men from their families.

The groups here is in the United States under the sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation to take a one-year course in public health. The men will return in a year to help rehabilitate Korea.

On the same program, Dr. M. S. Sundarin, Indian leader, spoke on the ideals of India

continued

the sake of peace and the freedom of all East Asiatic peoples, we must first achieve independence and freedom in Korea," he told them. "This is the Kuomintang's only principle toward Korea." We hope that is the first principle also of the policy of our Government and of the Soviet Government toward Korea. The best evidence of that would be a frank statement of the reasons that led to the establishment of two zones of occupation and some promise as to when the troops will be removed, the line of demarcation eliminated and the occupation ended.

KOREANS DEMAND TO BE FREE NOW

Oppose Plan of Trusteeship and Seek Report on
Who Caused Divided Control

By Richard J. H. Johnston
By Wireless to The New York Times

SEOUL, Korea, Nov. 2-- The central committee, composed of representatives of some forty-three political parties, adopted today a resolution calling upon the leaders of the United Nations to end the division of Korea in two parts and to grant "an opportunity to organize our national life as a unified whole to meet the requirements set forth in the Cairo declaration."

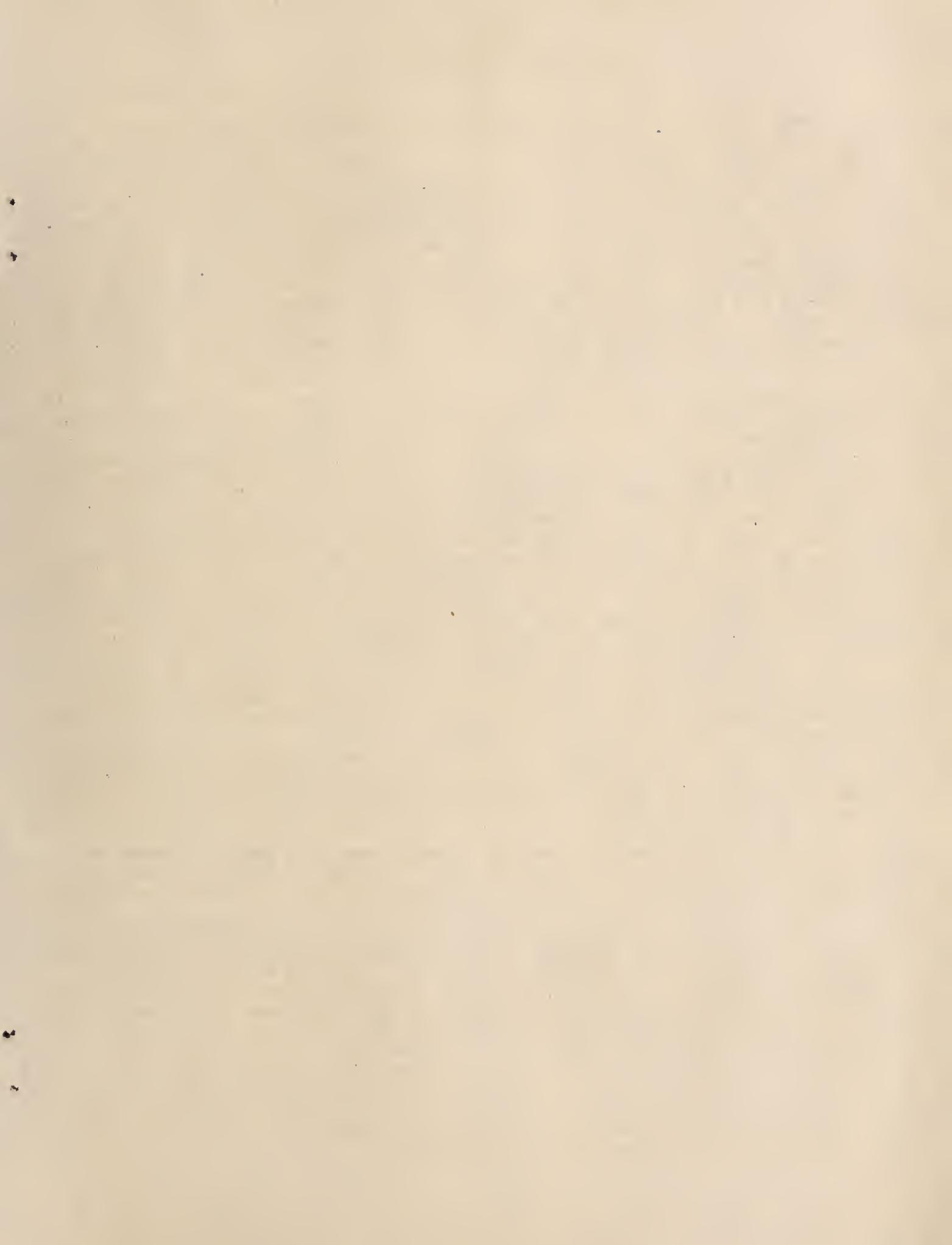
With Dr. Syngman Rhee, former president of the Korean Provisional Government, presiding, the delegates discussed the resolution for four hours in a session in which widely divergent political opinions were expressed but in which the delegates were unanimous in adopting the resolution.

The resolution declared that "we now are all united" and added, "we want our independence." It also called the division of Korea between the Russians and the Americans "a most serious blunder that is not of our making." It added that the suggestion of a United Nations joint trusteeship for Korea "would be another grave mistake in the Korean policy of the United States."

Trusteeship--Rejected

The resolution also asked "for an opportunity to prove ourselves capable of working out our own destiny" and declared that "we resolutely refuse to accept joint trusteeship or any other measure short of complete independence."

"We have come to know that neither Gen. Douglas MacArthur, nor Lieut. Gen. John R. Hodge, nor Maj. Gen. Archibald V. Arnold knew anything about this division policy," the resolution said. "Naturally enough they were misunderstood and unjustly criticized for a situation of which they were not even cognizant. In fact we know that they regard our cause and aspirations with fairness and good-will."



The Great Betrayals

By George E. Sokolsky

The Zionist leadership in the United States is not only outraged but humiliated by the betrayals exposed by the publication of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence. For years they had led the Jews of this country and the world to believe that Franklin D. Roosevelt was not only a partisan of Jewish aspirations in Palestine but that he had set himself apart as an exponent of justice for the Jew everywhere. The historical evidence is being uncovered that he was neither. He, more than any other individual, elevated Ibn Saud to Arab primacy by a subsidy of \$25,000,000; he fomented the organization of the Arab League; he sold his Jewish friends for some barrels of oil. He played ducks and drakes with the emotional aspirations of a suffering people who were devoted to his personal fortunes.

The tragic effect of this betrayal is upon those who, victims of the war, hoped and prayed for personal rehabilitation in the spiritually satisfying atmosphere of Palestine. I suppose that now they will be left to die in European concentration camps while Ibn Saud erects a monument of desert sand to his American benefactor.

The betrayal of the Jews attracts more attention than the betrayal of the Koreans, who at Yalta were cut in two so that neither part can remain nationally alive. The Russians hold the northern half; the United States holds the southern half; and neither the twain shall unite. It can be stated now, without fear of contradiction, that Korea is much worse off than she was under the Japanese. Then, at any rate, there was a Korea; today there are two half-Koreas. Then a rail road could bring coal from the north to the agricultural areas of the south, and food to the industrial areas of the north. Now a wall stands between them—a wall built on plans prepared at Yalta where three cynical and tired men drew lines on paper in the secrecy of their own magnificence and called it diplomacy. Should Korea ever discover a way of freeing itself from the Yalta betrayal, it might erect a tombstone of shame to honor those who spoke of democracy and did deeds of tyranny and oppression.

As I wrote these lines, I was impelled to look at the Atlantic Charter, that last gasp of idealism, now so completely betrayed and abandoned. My eye fell upon the fourth article of this document signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. It reads: "Fourth, they will endeavor with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity

Note the words:

"All states, great or small, victor or vanquished." That was in August, 1941. Great Britain was in fear of defeat; the United States was not yet officially at war, although secretly Mr. Roosevelt had already committed his country to both the European and Japanese wars, as the record now shows; Soviet Russia had only been in a few months after Hitler's breach of the Hitler-Stalin alliance. Those were dark days when men's souls soared to lofty heights of human idealism. Right miserable word, realism, had not yet become the all-prevailing apology and explanation for every outrage against human decency. It was a moment when there were very serious doubts as to which nation would be great and which small, who the victor and who the vanquished when the day of doom finally arrived.

동지회 부의미총회

재정묘단

○전우호원금

남가주

전진 2백50원

장몽석 250원

김노라 50원

리창영 1백원

셀르니스 20원

우리촌

리일선 30원

김해연 10원

누우라

안득준 10원

아카야오

홍재성 50원

홍재성문인 100원

주카주

점달노 250원

홍성옥 200원

○도그림금

남가주

장기영 200원

전진 150원

중가주

○년례금

리순애 100원

○시보대금

남가주

김노라 50원

리문경 50원

리문백 50원

○총회트렌

박재현 100원

위영민 200원

정홍봉 500원

정홍성 1백원

권승원 200원

라홍섭 200원

장기영 100원

강화중 150원

김이주 50원

오정심 50원

럼선오 200원

럼두명 200원

리동은 200원

송천희 1백원

오춘우 50원

김창주 250원

홍성익 200원

김달호 50원

중가주

고과우 100원

김영근 100원

전호백 100원

김형식 100원

남가주

리성삼 200원

송현영 500원

대한민족 200원

100원 100원

부미총회

재부 송현

○김도환 장학회

라형에게 유하는 교집

찬일씨 등 부인 재신녀

사의 데 자 도준 참취

는 잠시 휘자를 라몽

하여 외프히 개인 자당

을 심방 200원이라

사망 조인

소알 리함취 다음자

들은 너의 대표자 파승

문 데에 대하여 임원

중 모씨의 가정할 질

문이 잇엇다 한사

내용은 뜻전대 대표자

과송의 목격은 리향사

조선사회에 용나가지 못하

게만들기 위하야 오번나

함으로 그 질문하든 임원

도량심을 소구이지 못함

이엇든지 대표자 정의에

대하야 조공도 허락지안

엇다더라

자칭 해외환주 대표자

소위 련함 회대 동들문

미국을 떠나기 전날까지는

림서정 부를 안함하도

독립금은 거두어 램용

람사하드니 이행자를

하고 태평양을 건너신

날부리는 드천만 동으로

가부서 엇든지 자정

림서정 200원 후원하

고하시 이것의 자으로

회재관 량심에서

오말 일가?

사말 동문이란 문장은

신흥조선의 초급관

에서 쓰는 것으론

스나나

총회 등 파위원

리빙시회선
금연등지회 특유의중
회 임원회결의로
관하각파방송회특
파위원으로의선된리
범영사는 11월 18
일에 라선을 떠나 중
가주어를 경유하여
북가주와 오레곤 디
방까지 순회할 여
정이라더라

리빙시

하북경주

대성황

동지회와 대한인부인
회 남가주대방회에서
주최한 라박사화주
경주회를 11월 11
일 주일은 하오 6시에
동지회 총회관에서서
취가한순서에의하여
거행한바 경각전부
터나수등모두 운차

여대성황은 일일

에 리박사의 유한하신
외보위원부근은 정구
후원하기위하여 당
회에서 수백원의
동리일성금이 수합되
었다 (의연함은 추
후발포) 한다더라

총하순서

1. 개회 2. 석회성

3. 애국가 4. 동지회

5. 피나노 6. 회관

7. 대성황 8. 김진복

9. 기도 10. 리영기

11. 취지선명 12. 석

13. 영창 14. 회관

15. 피나노 16. 리박사

17. 동지회 18. 리박사

19. 연설 20. 송현영

21. 동지회 22. 조진세

23. 동지회

24. 동지회

25. 동지회

2. 광고 3. 주선

4. 동지회 성금수집

5. 만세 3호

6. 피회

7. 피회

8. 만찬준비위원

9. 전권영 10. 백인영

11. 리영기 12. 안제리

13. 김원희 14. 리영자

15. 리영기

16. 여흥집행위원

17. 학인영

18. 회화전집

19. 회화전집

20. 회화전집

21. 회화전집

22. 회화전집

23. 회화전집

24. 회화전집

25. 회화전집

26. 회화전집

27. 회화전집

28. 회화전집

리빙시회 환구정총회

에 수백마일 상거되는

중가주지방에서

총회장 리박사

가주전회와 중가주

지방회장 박호근의

동부인과 정호성의

씨미신 신중호씨

부인께서도 동참하

었다

29. 동지회

30. 동지회

31. 동지회

32. 동지회

33. 동지회

34. 동지회

35. 동지회

36. 동지회

37. 동지회

38. 동지회

39. 동지회

40. 동지회

41. 동지회

도지회 부미총회

특수임원회

총임원회가 초월 11일 하오 2시에 본총회관에서 총회장 리살음의 사회하에 소집되여 시국문제를 토의하고 좌기 각항을 결의 실시케 하였다

좌기

대표대회

일자연경

차기 연례 대표대회 일자로는 전임원회에서 11월 13일로 정했다

각다방에서 대표원

은선하는편의를

도모키워하여

명년 1월 5일

로오일로 연기한것

특기미총회관하각

다방에 리면넝의

를특기과위원으로

송수행계한인

3주미외위원부른
적구 후원할인

광고

특수임원회

를 11월 17일

은하오 8시에 본총

회관에서 소집하

오나 총회의임원

제되는게기참석

하심을 무방

대한인주 11월 14일

총회장 리살음

로의사함

민주당에관한건

정미한인단체연맹

재미한주가단체를

양라한 연맹에서는

미도에있는 몇개단체

의소수인도자들로이

단체의 존재를 무시

라고 일호만남은

소위 연합회라는명칭을

감응해야세인

을미후게할뿐안

라 6번에내디드

러가는때에도이포

인전례를대표하였

다 선전 실시함으로

이를분개한 재미한

개단체연맹에서는

절대로이를 향의하

는등시에

연맹에참가한개

체로말하면 자초로

림시정무를절대로

옹호하여오든바

이제 조국 독립의

완성을추진키위하

여 각단체의 회고

관인 연맹으로하여

곰대 석화동등은

도모하는등시에

명년도 임원은

다음과 같다

총무 리면넝

서기 버리관

재무 임상희

리사 윤영구

조구

김진복

백인명

주가가주 동신

신중호씨

정양

주가가주 다유마에거류

하는 신중호씨는

근일 신병으로정양

주인마장차의사의

수술은 받기로하여

가니라

김영근씨(인)

이원수

주가가주 다유마에거류

하는 김영근씨(부인)

은 11월 전에서

부조센과 명원(이)

원수수한결과

강회고집이다

특정(特別)회

리옹반(里昂)사

회장(會長)세

화영(華英)회노개회

리옹만(里昂)사를망문

八·一五이래경과보고

중(中)양(陽)인(仁)위(衛)원(元)회

화영(華英)회노개회

리옹만(里昂)사소모르는화영

와경양(瓦京)리에취족한리

양(梁)사의(士)급(級)후(後)점(點)차(差)적(積)

해(海)도(道)여(女)학(學)은(은)일(一)년(年)전(前)

전(前)선(線)수(守)립(立)에(에)전(前)대(代)한(한)영(英)

향(向)리(里)이(이)있(있)은(은)안(安)음(音)유(有)리

의(의)과(과)대(대)도(도)평(平)한(한)지(地)대(代)한(한)것

이다 (주(主)양(陽))

해(海)의(의)리(里)위(衛)외(外)조(組)심(心)일(一)척(尺)

주(主)내(內)제(制)당(堂)홍(紅)이(이)선(線)결(結)

리(里)박(朴)사(士)환(換)국(國)과(과)

리(里)구(溝)로(路)외(外)담(담)

리(里)박(朴)사(士)의(의)취(取)족(足)은(은)어(어)든(든)밤(밤)

에(에)켜(켜)진(진)등(等)불(不)이(이)다

프(프)린(린)리(里)장(長)산(山)은(은)갑(甲)작(作)이

머(머)이(이)돌(돌)코(코)화(化)과(과)가(가)연(連)다
일(일)직(직)이(이)친(친)문(문)이(이)었(었)든(든)
조(조)선(선)어(어)학(학)회(會)간(間)사(士)장(長) 리(里)구(溝)
로(로)씨(씨)는(는)기(基)반(本)에(에)넘(넘)쳐(쳐)며
다(다)음(음)과(과)같(같)이(이)만(만)하(하)였(였)다
(주(主)양(陽))

단(단)군(郡)이(이)시(時)여
이(이)강(江)도(道)로(로)르(르)
모(모)우(우)하(하)소(小)시(時)
결(結)과(과)분(分)진(진)을(을)제(制)회(會)
개(개)련(連)전(前)행(行)사(士)도(도)주(主)인(仁)이

전(前)국(國)신(新)분(分)과(과)자(子)대(代)회(會)
리(里)박(朴)사(士)도(도)참(參)석(石)
려(려)사(士)선(線)척(尺)회(會)합(합)

해(海)안(岸)되(되)기(기)밖(밖)으로(로)
만(만)세(世)로(로)표(표)현(現)
리(里)박(朴)사(士)도(도)참(參)석(石)한(한)
련(連)하(하)는(는)군(郡)후(後)하(하)회(會)
대(代)행(行)화(化)

살(살)어(어)도(도)함(함)께(께)
주(主)구(溝)어(어)도(도)같(같)이(이)
전(前)주(主)의(의)대(代)선(線)머(머)
리(里)옹(翁)만(만)박(박)사(士)
현(現)하(하)의(의)연(連)선(線)
(이(이)하(하)주(主)양(陽))

허(許)현(縣)지(地)
리(里)박(朴)사(士)방(方)문(문)은(은)오(五)담(담)
경(景)의(의)문(文)시(時) 주(主)선(線)
추(추)대(代)전(前)단(단)
조(조)선(선)인(仁)민(民)공(公)화(化)국(國)

중(中)양(陽)인(仁)위(衛)원(元)회(會)
대(代)표(표) 허(許)현(縣) 흥(興)남(南)포(포)
취(취)응(應)달(달) 리(里)강(江)구(溝) 씨(씨)는(는)
八(八)일(日)은(은)오(五)후(後)두(두)사(士)만(만) 조(조)선(선)

호(湖)태(태)르(르)리(里)박(박)사(士)를(를)망(望)문(문)
하(하)고(고)경(景)과(과)의(의)주(主)경(景)을(을)
가(가)후(後)어(어)화(化)영(英)의(의)인(仁)사(士)를(를)
드(드)린(린)후(後) 八(八)일(日)

조(조)일(日)이(이)후(後) 주(主)내(內)제(制)의(의)
말(말)견(견)을(을)보(보)고(고)하(하)고(고)
데(데)어(어)차(차)전(前)주(主)인(仁)대(代)표(표)대(代)
회(會)의(의)소(小)집(集)된(된)것(것)과(과) 조(조)선(선)
인(仁)민(民)공(公)화(化)국(國)하(하)는(는)생(生)의(의)경(景)

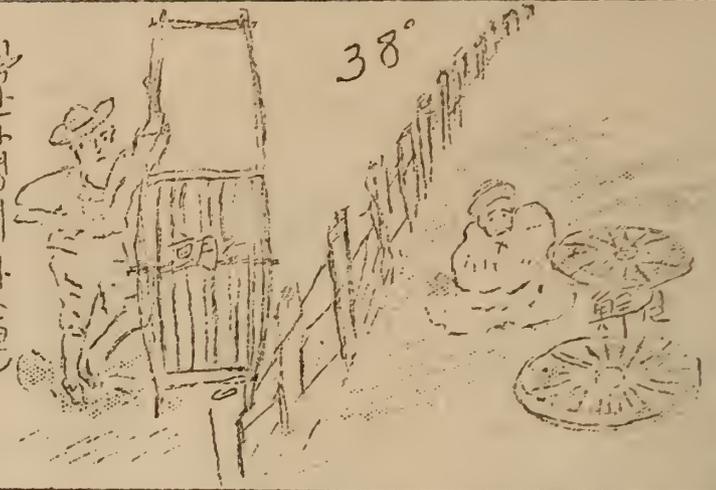
로(로)를(를)선(線)명(名)하(하)였(였)다
박(박)사(士)가(가)조(조)선(선)인(仁)대(代)공(公)화(化)국(國)
주(主)석(石)도(도)추(추)대(代)된(된)것(것)은(은)조(조)
선(線)민(民)주(主)의(의)추(추)의(의)이(이)다
주(主)석(石)으로(로)취(취)입(入)하(하)서(서)여(여)
조(조)선(선)인(仁)주(主)의(의)홍(紅)을(을)꺼(꺼)내(내)
시(시)는(는)것(것)이(이)유(유)일(일)최(最)선(線)의(의)
길(길)이(이)라(라)는(는)것(것)을(을)려(려)선(線)하(하)

여(여)박(朴)사(士)의(의)수(수)라(라)를(를)간(간)현(現)
하(하)였(였)다 박(박)사(士)는(는)이(이)보(보)고(고)를(를)
경(景)청(淸)하(하)시고(고) 호(호)의(의)르(르)를(를)표(표)시(示)
하(하)여(여)스(스)나(나) 너(너)무(무)창(창)조(조)수(수)의(의)
라(라)하(하)여(여)수(수)라(라)만(만)은(은)인(仁)조(조)수(수)의(의)
하(하)였(였)다 하(하)는(는)다

리(里)박(朴)사(士)주(主)석(石)
취(취)의(의)은(은)주(主)석(石)
대(代)선(線)태(태)의(의)현(現)실(實)도(도)찰(찰)을(을)
바(바)라(라)는(는)다
허(許)현(縣)지(地)다

한(한)주(主)경(景)보(보)국(國)조(조)지(지)
한(한)국(國)사(士)란(란)은(은)한(한)국(國)의(의)실(實)정(情)
을(을)정(正)화(化)하(하)여(여)하(하)야(야)하(하)는(는)것(것)은(은)
무(무)조(조)정(正)하(하)고(고)되(되)고(고)보(보)하(하)는(는)것(것)은(은)
시(시)로(로)변(變)동(動)을(을)알(알)려(려)져(져)는(는)것(것)은(은)제(制)
정(正)세(世)의(의)안(安)영(英)으로(로)하(하)는(는)것(것)은(은)정(情)
치(治)정(正)제(制)주(主)사(士)회(會)적(積)개(개)혁(혁)은(은)우(우)
리(里)로(로)하(하)야(야)이(이)에(에)대(대)한(한)인(仁)성(性)은(은)
더(더)한(한)친(親)의(의)필(必)요(要)하(하)는(는)것(것)이다

이(이)제(제)재(재)미(미)도(도)우(우)포(포)의(의)갈(갈)망(望)의(의)고(고)고(고)
대(대)하(하)는(는)은(은)주(主)의(의)소(小)식(食)을(을)신(新)신(新)수(수)회(會)
모(모)도(도)하(하)기(기)위(위)하(하)야(야)하(하)는(는)것(것)은(은)회(會)는(는)
한(한)주(主)경(景)보(보)국(國)을(을)창(創)설(設)하(하)고(고)조(조)정(情)
보(보)의(의)제(制)호(호)가(가)출(出)생(生)되(되)었(었)다
도(도)도(도)제(制)현(現)의(의)성(성)원(元)과(과)조(조)수(수)는(는)
바(바)라(라)는(는)다
한(한)민(民)행(行)회(會)정(情)보(보)국(國)



당한사경의 차(車)

차대도 든다고 박회도 든
흔하것만 원수의 三十八도라
는 강변이 가라여서
차대는 남쪽에
박회는 북쪽에
각각 호호여잇스니 소용이
잇나?
차대만 가진 주인이거나
박회만 가진 주인이거나
장한사경안하고잇스니
그정경이 당하기그지엄다
원수의 三十八도장(車)이여!
안재나 이장(車)이 시월

하게엄서지여 차대박회
회가 일체가 되고 불려
밀리가 힘을한데모아
이하는 시원스리 자주동
림의길을 달닐것인지
조선이라노 이차의 사경이
당하기 짝이없다

공화국 주석 취임
共和(主)席就任관청에
리당사 회의를 표시
위원대표 취원치음
국내정세 모교

독립추진
의견
리당사 각광수에
공동결의 결단

동일전선을 결성하자는 것
은 三천리 땅 2구 2에 인
민의 총의임에 잇추 각
정당(정)의 성회에서는 十
九일모음 2시에 함음결에
서 각성당대표를 마자하야
력사적회전을 하엿다
주최자 최 리갑성씨가
사회하고
리문영(전국동맹)
안재훈(국민당)

라현상(공산당)
원세훈(한국민주당)
김영수()

을 주로 그외 10수명이 회
합하야 각정당의 행동동
을 가리하고 동맹정적으로
합심하야 독립을 추구
진하는 동시에 이 독립
운동은 하지정(장)에
건키하야 국적정(로)
여론을 일으켜야는 데
의견이 1차 되엿다

모후트시경(회)가 파
치고 각정당대표(四)씨가
이결의를 리승만선생
에게 보고하기위하야
조선로터로 함(會)하엿다

건후대(의)의 경(로)전
로의코적
각정당 수뇌와
회견
리승만(사)도참(의)
드만인의 화호와
감사
시원(인)이준(한)영(회)
영(회)

간(白)하라!
하치(로)장(스)개(로)
리승만(당)사
대(연)변(연)

안(七)년(오)주(조)신(로)
학(도)지(로)
파(목)리(도)라(실)의

우리
수구(과)정(부)의(관)안(의)
손(을)회(한)리(승)만(사)
는(상)동(의)국(선)회(회)
집(안)에(잇)스(년)서(개)
할(리)회(로)는(엇)보(고)잇(서)
다(하)는(취)만(이)산
리(국)의(사)가(국)안(화)하(야)
잇(서)와(은)진(을)가(하)야(하)

는데(동)영(해)로(수)하(는)사
관(안)해(하)는(것)을(보)고(정)의
잠(이)강(한)의(말)사(는)실(연)이
위(하)고(도)동(보)하(는)안(호)고(정)의
하(기)를(자)행(하)는(것)을(보)
의(사)와(리)승(만)의(사)는(상)동
서(주)자(결)로(관)하(야)일(로)
정(사)관(정)찬(서)아(는)년(지)간
지(은)함(상)의(위)를(보)고(포)의(사)
은(별)순(정)다(서)는(이)우(르)
프(카)를(어)들(어)다(는)자(만)은

한국 시민

각개인의 책임

한국 사정이 날로 급박하여 가는 모날
한국은 명이 미국 외교 정책과 관계가
깊어진 이때 미국 조야의 한국에 대
한 생각이 원만하여야만 그 정책이
땃. 하고 바른 길로 나아갈 수 있는 것
입니다

그런고로 한국 시민된 각개인은 무슨
틈을 타서던지 우리나라 형편을 이
국사람들의게 알겨 주어야 됩니다
삼가 청하노나

우리(반동)로서는 할 수 있는 대로 국회
를 지어 서양친구들로 더부러 한국 사
정을 만히 설명하십시오 그리하여야
우리 주미외교기관에서 일하는 데적지
안은 유익이 됩니다

대한민국 1917년 1월 15일

대한민국 임시정부

주미외교위원부 임병직

공문(제 1호)

대한민국 1917년 1월 15일

경게자

귀지방 동지의 절강을 앙축 특별이 모여 제위의
안평생을 독립사업에 공헌하시서 모든
날 우리 생전에 잊은 소식을 듣게 될 것 하나
님께 감사드리니 동시에 제위 동지의 구서
세인 경충을 하례합니다 련하여 드린 말
삼은 명년도 동지대회를 금년 1월 15
5일에 개최하기로 하였습니다 그러나 각 지방
대표들이 온항에 다 참여하여 금년 1년간에 무
리의 대소사를 의통해야 왓으나 지어 명년 하야는
우리 동지회 명칭은 한국민주당으로 변경
하게 되였스나 민주당에 관한 장정 주창도
론이 되어야 하겠고 방금 본회 총재 리승만 박
사께서 내내 입국하시자마자 한국 민주당의
령수로 추대를 받게 되신 동시에 전국 인민의
두령으로 추대를 받으신다고 합니다 미포외교
류하는 우리 한인들도 민주제를 확장할 피인
오가 있는 동시에 더욱이 본동지회에서는 해외
한인으로서는 먼저 한국 민주당을 창설하였스
나 더욱 힘써 공고하여야 할 것이며 국내 민주당
당과의 련락 취할 것에도 의결 명하고 나가야만
하겠기로서도 고하오나 귀지방에서는 대표 1인
선택과 송하시며 민주당에 대한 견의서를 미방
의 공결로 추정하여 보내주시기를 바랍니다

면 나 도 곳 까지 사 힘으로 생
을 닷 처 것 다 우리 는 신 생 을
위 하 야 주 기 를 배 습 사 카
부 족 문 데 가 감 3 합 습 다
자 습 아 라 도 뛰 여 가 서 모 고 심
습 습 다

그러나 나는 잊습니다 무리가
나아갈일이 있는것을 확신
합니다 나에게 계획이 있
습니다 무리는 각자 한 자 리
씩 문답해서 충실의 일
합시다 돈과 힘을 모아서
이후가 큰 위해야 맞지자
그리하여 이 후 가 의 목 습
을 살 나 심 습 다

리승만 박사께

각당 감사

전국 위업을 위하여 해
외에서 30여 생상을 두고
수고하신 거인 리 박사
의 귀국은 각 방면으로
절대할 기대를 가지고
그에게 모든 감사와 축하
를 드리고 있는대 사람

민당에서는 오히려 시에 당원
총회로 열고 박사에 개
최대의 경의 회고의 레이를
포하는 감사 절의를 한 후
동일 하오 드서 조선 호원
로 안재홍, 박용익,
리승만, 피의석, 이씨가 박
사를 양문 하고 감사 절의 문
을 드려 습 다

조선 공산당에서는

리승만 박사의 귀국에
경의를 표고져 대표 최
익한 씨가 18일 오후 1
시에 조선호텔로 박사
를 방문하고 인사를 겸하
야 회견할 후 의견은 표
화 하였 습 다

생 - 의 사 박 리

감정에 격분한

민중 부귀

주야로 경부주관
이철, 윤호, 주지창
항구협회에게 미수 돈을
당환 보부상 드려 영
정영수는 보부상
수백 명을 이끌고
서지철, 리승만 박사
등의 주야로 정부주관

한 해 하고 자유 민권 사생
을 부르 짓는 강연 회장이
인화문 앞 널분 광장을
습적 하여 든 것이다

이때 보부상들이 습
적한다는 소문이 인
화문 앞 구주영을에게
전해지자 한 사람 두 사
람 다 다라나고 독립
협회원 들도 피한 사
람이 있 습 습 다

리승만 박사를 존중심으로
약 50여 명만은 그곳까지
남아서 싸우기를 결정
하였 습 다 그러나 무리를
드리고 말려 드는 보부상은
수백 명이고 이 장군은 민
주 만가 지고 이스는 몇 명
안되는 사람들을 이라

결국은 잔기여 독립은 공
사관 담을 넘어 정문의
로 바적 배재 학교로 돌
을 피 하였 습 다 그러나 이
만한 일에 목숨을 내보
키 싸우는 피골은 전

은 혁명가 들이 그때로
여지리 가 만무 하였 습 다

리승만 박사를 원두로 일행
은 다시 조종으로 나아 갔다
이들은 백모 전 루다락에
서 구주영에게 향하여 만동
세력의 무력한 합의 회은
함을 부르 지르며 민권의 옹호
를 위하여 민중은 철거 하
고 웨치 엿 다 조종로 너 리
는 수만 명의 군중으로 에
워 졌 습 며 아우성은 천 디
를 진동 하야 당장에 큰 일
이 날 형勢 이 엿 다

이런 형세에 당황한 정부
는 드디어 구대를 돌려
내야 서재필 리승만 씨
등 열 일곱 명의 독립 협
회 회수 되는을 체포 하야
평리원에다 감금 하였 습

이에 더욱 격앙한 구주영
들은 밤을 써서 시위 행렬
을 게속 하고 정위의 트사
즈음의 대원 자르른 명장
노라고 아우성을 쳤 습

리만사 귀국을 기회로
각당 통일과 성회와
리만사의 귀국을 기회로 각
정당의 동향은 나날이
갈라져 가는 이때

한국민주당 송진우
공산당 박헌영
건국동맹 려운형
국민당 안재홍

이하 각정당을 대표한 통
일과 성회 연합위원 다섯은
이들은 모종의 시에 회합
한 후 의견을 종합하여
리만사에게 전할 한 후
준정형에 제안
조선과 자주 독립에
대하여 하야나

리만사 드밀회전
이당에 오신 리만사의 데스
일도 전일이나 달음은
건국과 원과 후관하신가
우선 모전에는 국내의 정
보와 정세에 관찰하시기
에 분망하시었고 모후두

시에 한번 정기 회합 시간
이 되자

김영섭, 유경근, 유영
검, 김창제, 김할란

리수로, 오현석, 리묘목
김유준, 정인파, 배락용

현동완, 지를 비롯 한
개개八十여 인사가 조현호

헬에 모인 가운데
장지영준 조의 안배로

홀에 나오신 타사는
-:히 약속의 인사를

맛치고 축성하시여
다음과 같은 묘지의 담

화가 잇섯다
여러분이 열과 정으로

나를 차려 주나 부엌이라고
치하 할일이 없다 우리는

감고로 갖춰 합시다
우리에게 급한 문에는 일
허턴 드린 강산으로 샷
는 것이 급한 문에 이고
유일한 문에 이다

우리가 이 회합을 차진 듯
하면, 또 다시 얻을 수 없는

과회의 것을 알아야겠다
북쪽의 문에는 아직 알 수

업스나 남쪽에는 우리에게
계 동정하는 문들이 단

호잇가 이모든 문들의
해결은 우리의 손에 달이

엿나 내가 미주에서 들을
때에는 하지 장군이 한인

에게 불공평한 형치를
한다고 신문지에 실린 되

여 국내에 다소간 여론은
이잇섯스나 왜요나 이모

든점이 오전 되어 잇는 것
을 알 수 잇다 하지 장

군은 우리와 동일 한 북
적을 갖도 잇다

우리가 할 일만 한다면
지금이라도 우리의 자주
독립은 실현 될 것 이다
다만 우리에게 요구되는 것
이 통일 문에 이다 여하한
일이 잇다고 하드라 드 일
은 땅을 차는 일에 전력
할 문에 이다

이때에 일종의 약속이
잇다 우리가 과거 할 때
각자가 자기 자신의 것만

을 가지고 정은 만하고 잇다면
우리가 차질 것을 모르고 말

것 이다 그러나 차질 것
을 차고 나서 연합을 이며

나간 다음에는 각자의 의견
도 말도 못하고 주의를 위해

서 싸와도 조흔 것 이다
우리는 과거 40년 간 일인이

세계에 대하여 조선 사람을
두살 식히는 선전과 한 것

을 이 회합에 세계에 연합
세라 우리는 뚜렷한 한인이

되어야 함이다 세계는 우리
에게 복을 갖도 잇습다

4천 3백년의 역사를 가진 우리
가 과거에 잇서 우리 부흥의 갈

밋으로 40년 간 국으로 조흔
을 받고 더위 싸움에 우리는
망하고 만 것 이다 지금에
는 이르러 봐 더러운 것 들
림 세가 지금은 애국의
것과 나가야 할 것 이다
만일에 여러 문에 이다

① 수만의 구원을 건널
재중(재중) 조선해방군
으로 편입

중점(중점)은 한(한) 립시(립시) 정
부(정부) 원(원) 모(모) 씨(씨) 의(의) 발(발) 표(표) 한(한) 바
에(에) 하(하) 면(면) 중(중) 국(국) 버(버) 는(는)
조(조) 선(선) 해(해) 방(방) 군(군) 을(을) 중(중) 심(심) 으
로(로) 수(수) 만(만) 의(의) 상(상) 미(미) 관(관) 을(을)
국(국) 내(내) 에(에) 건(건) 설(설) 할(할) 기(기) 획(획) 이
되(되) 었(었) 다(다) 고(고) 말(말) 하(하) 였(였) 다(다)

이상(이상) 의(의) 조(조) 선(선) 해(해) 방(방) 군(군) 은(은)
중(중) 국(국) 버(버) 는(는) 바(바) 당(당) 의(의) 조
선(선) 이(이) 중(중) 국(국) 버(버) 는(는) 선(선) 말(말) 된(된) 것
이(이) 라(라)

사설

리(李) 박(朴) 사(史) 에(에) 거(거) 리(리) 대(大) 함(함)

현(現) 재(在) 조(趙) 선(鮮) 의(의) 정(正) 치(治) 은(은) 동(동) 은(은)
개(開) 발(發) 적(적) 의(의) 각(各) 방(方) 을(을) 바(바) 신(新)
차(차) 야(야) 그(그) 후(後) 한(한) 이(이) 국(국) 도(도) 의(의)
관(官) 하(하) 고(고) 있(있) 어(어)

지(地) 금(金) 도(道) 만(萬) 국(國) 은(은) 정(正) 의(의) 틀(틀) 위
하(하) 야(야) 자(自) 도(道) 한(한) 바(바) 사(史) 에(에) 거(거) 마

칠(七) 회(回) 와(와) 모(母) 의(의) 준(準) 미(米) 가
있(있) 다(다) 三(三) 十(十) 대(代) 의(의) 청(淸) 년(年) 은(은)
말(末) 사(史) 와(와) 손(孫) 목(木) 을(을) 동(동) 무(無)
로(로) 써(써) 자(自) 입(立) 으(으) 려(려) 하(하) 다(다)
이(이) 수(수) 전(全) 하(하) 고(고) 위(위) 대(大) 한(한) 정(正)
성(成) 을(을) 백(百) 사(史) 는(는) 저(저) 바(巴) 리(里) 지
안(安) 을(을) 거(거) 는(는) 이(이) 다(다)

자(自) 유(有) 와(와) 해(解) 방(放) 의(의) 선(先) 주(主) 로
형(形) · 해(解) 는(는) 동(동) 립(立) 협(協)
회(會) 시(時) 대(代) 의(의) 화(化) 를(를) 논(論)

리(李) 박(朴) 사(史) 에(에) 거(거) 리(리) 대(大) 함(함)
년(年) 十(十) 一(一) 월(월) 동(동) 립(立) 협(協) 회(會)
의(의) 화(化) 를(를) 논(論) 하(하) 는(는) 사(史) 박(朴) 문(文)
대(代) 저(저) 유(有) 명(名) 한(한) 동(동) 립(立)
협(協) 회(會) 문(文) 이(이) 정(正) 초(初) 심(心) 을(을)
하(하) 였(였) 다(다)

이(이) 와(와) 결(決) 호(呼) 자(자) 야(야) 동(동) 립(立)
협(協) 회(會) 의(의) 화(化) 를(를) 논(論) 하(하) 는(는) 사(史) 박(朴) 문(文)
대(代) 저(저) 유(有) 명(名) 한(한) 동(동) 립(立)
협(協) 회(會) 문(文) 이(이) 정(正) 초(初) 심(心) 을(을)
하(하) 였(였) 다(다)

민(民) 주(主) 의(의) 전(全) 보(保) 사(史) 상(相) 을(을)
고(高) 차(차) 하(하) 기(기) 네(네) 침(沈) 식(食) 을(을) 이(이) 고
화(化) 동(動) 하(하) 였(였) 다(다)

이(이) 때(때) 일(一) 본(本) 류(流) 하(하) 는(는) 생(生) 이(이) 든
신(新) 해(海) 연(年) · 어(어) 로(로) 선(線) 을(을) 중(중)
심(心) 으(으) 로(로) 만(萬) 동(動) 관(觀) 제(制) 화(化)
국(國) 협(協) 회(會) 가(가) 조(調) 직(直) 되(되) 어(어)

동(동) 립(立) 협(協) 회(會) 의(의) 화(化) 를(를) 논(論)
하(하) 는(는) 방(放) 하(하) 기(기) 사(史) 자(自) 하(하) 였(였)
다(다) · 당(當) 시(時) 의(의) 법(法) 무(無) 대(大) 신(新)
리(李) 박(朴) 사(史) 에(에) 거(거) 리(리) 대(大) 함(함)
회(會) 문(文) 조(趙) 선(鮮) 의(의) 정(正) 초(初) 심(心) 을(을)
하(하) 였(였) 다(다)

화(化) 살(살) 을(을) 꺾(꺾) 으(으) 려(려) 고(고) 가(加) 진(진)
회(會) 차(차) 를(를) 다(多) 하(하) 고(고) 또(또) 화(化)
국(國) 협(協) 회(會) 는(는) 모(母) 부(부) 상(相) 을(을)
자(自) 가(加) 들(들) 기(기) 는(는) 동(동) 립(立) 협(協) 회(會)
문(文) 조(趙) 선(鮮) 의(의) 정(正) 초(初) 심(心) 을(을)
하(하) 였(였) 다(다)

로(로) 짓(짓) 고(고) 무(無) 패(패) 하(하) 고(고) 전(全) 보(保) 사(史) 상(相) 의(의)
관(官) 료(料) 를(를) 동(동) 명(名) 하(하) 며(며) 민(民) 천(天) 의(의)
자(自) 유(有) 와(와) 자(自) 주(主) 동(동) 립(立) 을(을) 위(위) 하(하)
야(야) 정(正) 부(부) 와(와) 무(無) 위(위) 무(無) 책(策) 을(을) 탄
핵(核) 하(하) 였(였) 는(는) 데(데) 이(이) 때(때) 주(主) 미(米) 만
의(의) 리(李) 승(承) 안(安) 박(朴) 사(史) 는(는) 가(加) 진(진)

맹(孟) 렬(烈) 한(한) 투(투) 사(史) 로(로) 서(서) 밤(밤) 나(나) 는(는)
가(가) 리(리) 지(지) 안(안) 고(고) 인(인) 화(化) 문(文) 암(暗) 히(히) 서(서)
사(史) 자(自) 후(後) 를(를) 호(호) 하(하) 였(였) 다(다)

이(이) 해(海) 가(가) 을(을) 저(저) 유(有) 명(名) 한(한) 모(母) 부(부)
상(相) 과(과) 의(의) 대(大) 초(初) 심(心) 을(을) 동(동) 립(立) 협(協)
회(會) 문(文) 조(趙) 선(鮮) 의(의) 정(正) 초(初) 심(心) 으(으) 로(로) 한(한) 자
유(有) 민(民) 천(天) 의(의) 사(史) 렬(烈) 과(과) 모(母) 수(수)
세(世) 렬(烈) 의(의) 무(無) 렬(烈) 조(趙) 선(鮮) 의(의)
이(이) 러(러) 나(나) 는(는) 것(것) 이(이) 다(다) (계(계) 소(소))

영(英) 정(正) 투(투) 쟁(爭) 의(의) 연(連)
신(新) 흥(興) 유(有) 위(위) 가(가) 말(말) 하(하) 는(는)
리(李) 박(朴) 사(史) 에(에) 거(거) 리(리) 대(大) 함(함)
동(동) 립(立) 협(協) 회(會) 때(때) 무(無) 렬(烈) 하(하) 였(였) 는(는) 것(것) 이(이) 다(다)
함(함) 꺾(꺾) 으(으) 는(는) 것(것) 이(이) 다(다) 동(동) 립(立) 협(協) 회(會) 문(文) 조(趙) 선(鮮) 의(의)
정(正) 초(初) 심(心) 을(을) 이(이) 고(고) 하(하) 는(는) 것(것) 이(이) 다(다)

○ 八월十五일 후의

경과를 리략하게

문서로 보고

인민위원회의서

환영도중인

우리의지도자 리승만박사를
주석으로 추대한 인민공화
국에서는 다음과 같은 발언을
가 잊었다

조선인민공화국

중앙인민위원회의발표

조선인민공화국주석 리
승만박사는 드디어 귀국
하셨다. 三월만 인민공
화국에 대한 최대노
경양대명하는 최대노

자이신만큼 절구는 환호
에 넘치고 있다. 우리해방
운동에 있어서 박사의
위용은 더 말할 필요도
없다. 그러나 조선인민공
화국주석으로 추대되었
은 조선인민의 총의며
이러한 의미에 있어서 해방
조선은 독립조선으로서
위대한 지도자에게 충성심

의 감사와 만장화환영을
맞추는 것이다

조선인민공화국 중앙인
민위원회의서는 작

일 오후 2시에

부주석 리 승만

주석으로 리 승만

장씨가 최용달 리

강숙 양치근 리 대동

리 승만 조선호텔로 박사

리 승만 문하여 환영의

인사를 드리고 八월十五일

이후 정파에 대한 보고

로 문서와 참고자료 등을

수고하였다 (이하략)

春風路秋霜 (후포초상)

리박사의 등장으로 하여

곰 짐게 암야에 광둥이

제월이 되게 하고 못하는

것은 오로지 조선민족

의 도향대소에 있다

○ 위대한 국민은 위대한

지도자 앞에 부조건의

신뢰와 불구종을 바

치는 국민이다

자유신민

정당통합의 큰 시사

리박사 귀국 제 2차

회견

이루 구하의 열면

금수강산의 주춧돌을 차

삼년만애 화교향 하신

우리의 지도자 리승만

박사는 十八일

오후 2시에 한 대적과

공동 회견을 하고 말하

기를

조국의 현상을 보니

여러가지로 우려되는바

파악하며 또한 지금이 가

장준대 한 위대한만큼

우리는 백전간두에 나

오는 그러한 결심으로

우리의 모 든 사와

당파싸움을 깨끗이

청산하지 않으면 안

될다. 그리고 현실하야

회동하는 10여명인

사료 더부러 섞어 두

구하는 미장하고도

에 침사구고 하야

선생의 말씀은

할말이였다. 그리고 이

날 회동인사는

우리민방위원장이 안재홍

리의식씨를 비롯하여

한구-민주당의 맹관수

김준연 김병로 씨등을

주로 양양 관계자들이 다

수였다

○ 사 람 다 만

조국애로

전국의 현모이 되자

○ 사랑하는

三월만 현모애

자주 두리외

一심해법 령하자

리승만박사

표구애의 념원을

턴과로 전과

○ 서정기민박사도

은월권국

○ 남조선의 금면 햇살

二천백만사 주수

무엇이라고 생각하
나는 한 시대의 자격으
로 고국에 드려 와사나
나는 정부의 책임자의
다위를 원치 않는다. 나
는 이 자유의 권리라
것을 어떠한 디워보다도
귀중히 여기는가

자유를 취하는 여타분들
은 나와 같이 무수함을
앗기지 않고 사위할 줄
알는다. 그러야만 드려만
동료로 자유를 취하야
동등한 책임을 지는
내가 이 자유를 대가 없이
조선에는 조종이나 구구이나
되는 것만이 생계 구원
이 될 것이라 있다. 나는 말
물도 없고 대단히 겸허하고
유감스럽게 생각하면서
왔다. 그리하여 고국에
돌아온 후 몇몇 동료들과
한번 대화를 몇 번을 한
나분과 같이서는 1911
조선 해외에서 드려만

시정부가 연합군이
드러올 때 즉시 드러올
줄 아렸으나 드러오지
않음으로 구내에서는
우리의 힘으로 국가를 세
우라고 각당 각파가 생
겼다고 합니까
그럼으로 내가 입정 후 몇
일 동안

합니까. 한당이 되려
고. 왜냐하면 드려만
처야만 우리가 산다는 것
을 걱정할지도 자들도
인식하고 합치는 것이
보이지도 있습니다.
그것을 보니 나는 정당한
말을 얻지 못하여 답답
우리가 합쳐 한당이 되
되어. 무리나 화를 치
노릇되어. 주의 주장을
을 말하야. 여타분들이
하리니 구내에서 나는 이
후 몇몇 습지아는 내
무수함을 여러 분을 위
하야 하는가

조선은 부패하고 8도로
량분되어 있는 데 이것
은 었지 되었나 내가
동경 있을 때 백야
대장도 나에게 이것
어찌 하야 생겼느냐고
물고. 정형에 오니
하지 조장과 아놀
드려만 조장판도 이
나노가 었지 생겼
나고 드려만 에 나는
대답할 수 없다. 다만
하었다.

그러나 이것을 대답할
수 있는 사람은 여타
든지 이것과 생사한
우리는 이윤의 배
우를 알 권리가 있다
우리는 조국의 주장을
안하고 한당이 되
되면 차라리 알게 될 것
으로 잇는다
그러는 것이 도 같이

죽고 살어도 같은 것이
야 할까
한데 합쳐 나를 여타
다면 나는 여타분들
하야 이윤을 아지겠
○○○
○ 강상수와 회담
리악사정(치공작
거사 (3. 2. 1911))

○ 매추원(은밀)에
신분적 차단과
회견
○ 각당과 협심합동
정호(한)이 조종지휘
불치지 말자고
대승만(맹사) 전후에
양승(우대) (1911)

○ 후정(은) - 관한
등정후대는
리승만(맹사)를
하
신희(은) 우
소감(은)

신동선조

November 15, 1945

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만년의 역사를 가진 우리 민족이 47년 동안 왜적의 질제하에서 언론의 자유를 잃고 있을 때 무자유한 가운데서 신



조국해방과 언론자유

북미시보

권삼제 호사제 소행말

등지회 북미총회 평음 송현영

하다가 조국해방의 석광이 강산에 빛나는 동시에 신동선조의 자유를 부르짖으며 새로이 일어나는 각종 신문의 출판된바 증언에 본사에 도 착한 조국신문을 보는 오인은 이글을 추구해야 마지 않는 동시에 천만형제자매의 부르짖음을 자애 소개해야 신동선조국의 정세를

일만 두 자에게 고하노라

新新 鮮報

十月二十一日 號

일행

은련은유년

가

五 개월

한령이로 무용치자 가간테란립은 넘려 할것입니다

리박사 칙시 공개연설

오늘 연합군 환영회석상에서 조병옥 박사의 환영사에 대하여 하기 중의 답사가 잇는다는 하지중장은

이 가운데 조선사람의 위대한 지도자가 잇스나 소개하겠나 하며

리승만 박사를 대중앞에 소개하니 늘 빛같은 백발을 나뉘기며 리 박사는 마이크앞에 나와 영어로 연합군에 대하여 환영과 감사의 뜻을 표한 다음 좌와 같이 조선사람은 한데서리로

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 79th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

The State Department

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 12, 1945

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I also wish at this time to take up another matter, which, I believe, is one of the most important I have called to the attention of the Senate for a long time.

Mr. President, I am both puzzled and perplexed by our State Department.

In advance of the Senate's consideration of the San Francisco Conference Charter, I wish to call attention to the fact that both the American people and we, their representatives in the United States Senate, are lacking in comprehension of all the whys and the wherefores of the charter.

I think the reason for this is that our State Department is far apart from the American people.

It has developed, unfortunately, an atmosphere of mystery and intrigue.

I contend that this is an unwholesome and an un-American atmosphere.

There should be no gulf, nor ravine of doubt, between the American people and any of their servants.

The American people are entitled to know everything their Government is doing—save for the necessity of wartime secrecy—and why it is being done.

I am sick and tired of diplomatic circumlocution. I can understand plain, simple English, but I cannot understand why the State Department does not use it.

It is high time, in my opinion, for us to know what our State Department is doing and whether or not it is delivering the goods.

The State Department, as we all know, is the most powerful of all the departments in our Government. It combines the duties of prime minister and foreign minister of other governments. It has the exclusive authority, together with our President, of dealing with foreign powers and of formulating our foreign policies.

In essence, the duty of the State Department is to safeguard and protect our international relations. Its prime obligation is to keep this country at peace. For the tragedy of the failure of diplomacy is that it invariably is followed by war.

What our Nation wants for the entire world—and for itself—is nothing other than peace. Our national motto is "Liberty and justice for all," and our hope and our prayer is to live in peace with the rest of the world.

Is our State Department helping us to get what we want? Are our diplomats doing for us the job they have been hired to do by the American people? Will the San Francisco Charter mean peace on earth?

Let us examine some of the recent activities of the State Department, and hope that through thought and deduction we may provide ourselves with an honest answer.

Of course, if our State Department functioned now as it functioned in the early days of our Republic, we could call upon it for an answer, for in those days it was part and parcel of the life of the American people and not the mysterious, aloof, and almost condescending body it is today.

As a matter of fact, the great alteration now so evident in the State Department began shortly after the turn of the century. It began in 1905 when an enervating helplessness, akin to a hidden and insidious disease, started to undermine a once staunch and old American tradition of strength and courage and honesty. The cancer of democracy began its ravages that year. Appeasement is a shorter name for it. The germ of appeasement is a terrible thing. It develops with microbic rapidity, for it feeds upon an unholy compound of smug self-satisfaction and fear. The worst thing about it is that the patient, gazing upon himself in a mirror, detects no outward sign of the ailment, yet he affords an instant field of correct diagnosis to all others. His rivals see him as he really is—ripe for attack. Ask John Bull, who picked up the germ in Europe. Ask Uncle Sam, who contracted the disease in the Pacific. A bombed and battered London and Pearl Harbor are like reminders of the deadly dangers of appeasement.

For nearly 36 years, Mr. President, the far eastern policy of our State Department has been to appease Japan. And, because the American people were purposely kept in the dark by our State Department, they blindly followed this false and untrustworthy leadership.

But today, you say, it is different. We are wiping out, with the blood of our heroes upon Pacific battlefields, the blunders of our diplomats. A new world is arising from our sacrifices. Surely our diplomats are aware of this. They must

know that our men are fighting and dying willingly for liberty, justice, and democracy. But does our State Department know this? Is it upholding the banner of democracy? Is it representing the hopes and prayers—nay, the demand of the American people?

There is only one way to tell. That way is to examine both its official and unofficial actions—so far as we are permitted to know of them—in the Pacific area.

The problem before us is not a complex one. In fact it is crystal clear. It needs only a brief prologue. This is the prologue:

Russia, you are a great country, and you have been a great ally. You are entitled to your own form of government and we shall never, in any way, attempt to interfere with it. Communism is both your privilege and your right. We respect it as such.

Democracy is both our privilege and our right. We ask that you respect it, too. In so doing, there shall never be the slightest trouble between us. And our mutual friendly relations shall constitute the surest guaranty of lasting peace.

That is the end of the prologue.

Now, back to the Pacific area: China is another of our allies in the present war against the Japanese. China is struggling toward democracy. Many trials and tribulations beset her. What is her chief handicap? Her chief handicap, Mr. President, is the support, both open and clandestine, that is given China's Communist minority by Russia and by our State Department.

Officially, our Government is giving support to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang Government, which is modeled after our form of government. This is as it should be. Secretly, the State Department is putting pressure on the Generalissimo to unify with the Chinese Communists. How would we like it, in this country if a foreign power insisted that our Cabinet include a Communist or two? We know just how far they would get it.

Let us look into the unhappy picture presented by another far eastern country—Korea. What has been the attitude of our State Department toward the Korean people?

Since Pearl Harbor, for example, there has been nothing to prevent us from extending a helping hand to the Korean people for they—alone and unaided—have been fighting the common enemy, Japan, for the last 40 years.

They staged a nationwide revolution against Japan, declared their national independence, and established a democratic form of government, patterned after our own, away back in 1919.

That government, the oldest government in exile, has been functioning in China. That government has sought recognition and arms and munitions. The State Department has told this government it must have unity. Unity with whom? A minority of Korean Communists. A high official in our State Department even went so far as to tell Korea's venerable apostle of democracy, Dr. Syngman Rhee, that he should collaborate with a Korean, whose known record embraces employment as a Japanese agent and as a notorious Communist agitator.

In December 1943, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek made a joint declaration at Cairo pledging that Korea shall become free and independent "in due course." Koreans everywhere rejoiced over this announcement and expressed their deep gratitude to the three great world leaders for the freedom they had jointly promised. However, they were disappointed when they learned how these three words "in due course" were inserted.

They learned through high authorities that Generalissimo Chiang suggested at Cairo that Korea shall become free and independent, and the President and Prime Minister agreed to it. But then they found out that it was not entirely acceptable. Premier Stalin and the President added these three words as a compromise. The Koreans have no doubt as to the sincerity of the declaration. But the objection raised by the Soviet Government throws a shadow over the whole situation.

Ever since the spring of 1942, press reports, alleged to have emanated from Moscow, circulated a story to the effect that Russia would advocate the establishment of an independent Soviet Republic of Manchuria and also of Korea. Many rumors of a similar nature have been going the rounds every now and then until many well informed people in this

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country are of the opinion that it has become an open secret.

During the San Francisco Conference the existence of a secret understanding was disclosed through a highly reliable source. This arrangement was made at Yalta between our late President, the British Prime Minister, and the Soviet Premier to the effect that Korea and Manchuria would be within the orbit of Russian influence and that the United States and Great Britain shall remain noncommittal to Korea until after the defeat of Japan.

The report of this discovery was published in the press, and the officials of our State Department in San Francisco and Washington at once denied the truth of the report. Our Acting Secretary of State, Joseph Grew, made a news release specifically declaring that the United States has not changed its policy proclaimed at Cairo regarding Korean independence, and that no secret agreement of any nature is in existence conflicting with the Cairo pledge. Winston Churchill also stated that there was no secret agreement, without mentioning Korea. His statement was rather dubious in the essence. He said, "There were many things discussed at that Conference which cannot be revealed now," which clearly means that the Korean question was one of the many subjects discussed.

The most significant part in this connection is the fact that the Soviet Government remains conspicuously and ominously silent on this matter. Mr. Molotov was holding his last press conference before he left San Francisco when he was asked about the Soviet's policy regarding Korea and he simply replied, "There will be a time when that question will be discussed. Korea shall become free and independent in due course."

Russia, being one of the three powers at the Yalta Conference, remains absolutely noncommittal regarding the secret understanding about Korea. Evidently she reserves her freedom of action for the right time to strike. At an opportune moment, if she acts unilaterally in Korea as she did in Europe, who is there to stop her? Will the United

States and Great Britain send troops to help the Korean nationalists in their fight against Russia in order to protect their honor pledged in the Cairo declaration? The chances are nine out of ten that they will continue their appeasement policy by conveniently repeating the empty, meaningless phrase.

We already have before us what has happened in Europe. Finland, the Baltic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria wear the mantle of Moscow.

Is Russia so fearful of democracy that she cannot endure a nation possessing it on her doorstep? Obviously, if she is, the entire world faces a tragic era, indeed. And is our State Department so eager to appease communism that it is willing to desert democracy everywhere beyond our borders?

All civilized nations yearn for peace and security. Russia surely is entitled to these gifts. Today, she stands victorious, and threatened by no one. Her victory was achieved in part—and she has been the first to admit it—through the contributions of munitions and matériel she received from the United States of America. The American people certainly wish to live in friendship with their Russian allies. Russian friendship is a historical tradition with us.

The bonds of that friendship would be riveted for centuries were Russia to order her Communists within the United States to cease their plotting and their agitation. Democracy improves through evolution, not through revolution. It attains new objectives through the votes of freemen, not through violence and bloodshed.

The world is on the eve of the Pacific era. Russia, more than any other power, can make this era pacific in fact as well as in word. Why not let China pursue unhindered her democratic development. The Chinese are basically a peaceful and nonaggressive people. Why not let Korea return to the family of nations as a democracy? Russia cannot fear aggression from this tiny neighbor.

Russia needs peace as all the world needs it. Here is the power alone, I say, to assure it.



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of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 79th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Korea

SPEECH
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER

OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

June 22, 1945

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this time to inquire into our relations or lack of relations with a friendly people—the 30,000,000 people of Korea.

They are the oldest enemies of the Japanese and we, among all western powers, are supposed to be Korea's oldest friend.

It has long been puzzling to me why a mantle of silence—diplomatic silence—should becloud the future of this ancient people.

It is completely beyond my comprehension why, ever since Pearl Harbor, Korea's democratically conceived government, born of the blood of patriots in revolution against the Japs, and Korea's great apostle of democracy, Dr. Syngman Rhee, should be continuously rebuffed by our State Department.

The Korean people love freedom and have shown their willingness to die for it.

The hope of human liberty has been their one candle in the darkness of Japan's long oppression. And all during those 40 years the one man who has tended its flame and held it aloft is Dr. Syngman Rhee.

Is it not singular that this great patriot should knock in vain for the admission of his Government and his country to the Conference in San Francisco of the United Nations?

Perhaps the State Department will answer, forthrightly and honestly, the questions I shall now address to it.

We are all aware of the flurry of rumors about what happened at Yalta.

One of the secrets—the granting of three votes to Russia—has since come out.

Among the other reports circulated was one concerning Korea. You have seen some of these reports in the newspapers or heard them over the radio.

Emboldened by our new Secretary of State's announced policy of frankness to the American people, and his promise that letters of inquiry would be answered honestly and promptly, a citizen of the

United States, known to me, wrote Mr. Stettinius on March 23 of this year and asked him whether at Yalta, which he had attended, the United States had assented to Soviet domination and control of Korea.

Sixty days later, this citizen received a reply from one J. M. Colton Hand, Chief, Public Views and Inquiries Section, Division of Public Liaison, Department of State.

This gentleman apologized for the delay in the reply, attributing it to work in preparation for the San Francisco Conference, and said:

In answer to your question concerning a possible discussion of Korea at the Crimea Conference, I am enclosing a copy of the report on the conference which indicates the subjects discussed there. You will notice that no questions in regard to the Far East are included.

Now, I contend that what Mr. J. M. Colton Hand put down on paper is not an honest answer. It is completely evasive. It is diplomatic double-talk.

Therefore, I come to my first question to the Secretary of State. This is it:

Was Korea discussed at the Crimean Conference at Yalta?

The gallant efforts of Dr. Rhee at San Francisco have caused others to inquire whether some secret agreement was made at Yalta between the United States, Great Britain, and Soviet Russia that involved Korea.

Mr. Winston Churchill, in response to an inquiry in the House of Commons about Yalta secret agreements, said there had been only one—the three-vote present to Russia. Pressed for a frank exposition of what really did occur, Mr. Churchill took refuge in the admission that there were a lot of intimate conversations that he could hardly talk about then and there.

Well, there are more than 1,000,000 American men dead, wounded, and missing, and I am sure their battle cry was not built around the preservation of intimate conversations where liberty, human freedom, and justice are concerned.

Therefore, I come to my second question to the Secretary of State. This is it:

Was there an agreement, a penciled note, a typewritten note, an initialed note, a memorandum, a deal verbally or otherwise, a compact, a pledge, a promise,

an arrangement, or even a portion of an intimate conversation by and between Messrs. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin which had as its essence the following:

Great Britain and the United States agree with Russia that Korea shall remain in the orbit of influence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics until after the end of the Japanese war. It is further agreed that no commitments whatever shall be made to Korea by the United States and Great Britain until after the end of the Japanese war.

I have mentioned how an American citizen, asking a simple question about Korea on March 23, had to wait 2 months, or until May 22, for a reply from the Department of State.

I now wish to cite the much prompter service given a noncitizen—a Korean who addressed an identical inquiry to the Secretary of State and to Mr. Anthony Eden, Britain's Foreign Minister.

This Korean, writing on May 8, called these gentlemen's attention to the Cairo declaration of Messrs. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek that Korea would be free and independent in due course. And this Korean asked if anything had occurred at Yalta which would interfere with this pledge.

Now, in all honesty, that Cairo pledge is one of the most dubious sentences ever evolved.

"In due course" may mean any time within the next 2 years or the next 200 years.

Mr. Joseph W. Ballantine, Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs of the Department of State, answered the Korean's inquiry just 9 days later. He wrote on May 17 as follows:

In reply to your letter of May 8, 1945, in which you refer to reported Yalta Conference commitments in regard to Korea on the part of the United States inconsistent with commitments of the Cairo declaration, I desire to inform you that there is no basis of fact for the reports in question.

Practically, Mr. Ballantine's reply means exactly nothing. It is on a par with the country weather forecaster who says with mock wisdom, "I see nothing in today's clear weather that would indicate it will snow severely in December."

The British were almost as prompt as our State Department. They conveyed a similar answer under date of May 19.

Neither communication, however, is an answer to my two questions of today.

It can be inferred, however, from our State Department's reply that Korea was discussed at Yalta. I drew the same inference from the statement by Acting Secretary of State Grew on June 8.

I want to know the truth, and I know that the Members of this Congress also want to know the truth.

Why, when we were a little Nation of 3,000,000, scattered in sparse settlements along only the Atlantic coast, our love of liberty was such as to command the admiration and respect of the entire world.

Turn back the pages of history. Any man or woman, dedicated to human freedom, found a welcome here in America.

Lafayette was the first. His illustrious successors have been legion. O'Connell, John Boyle O'Reilly, Parnell, are among the company of freedom loving Irishmen. Kossuth, the Hungarian, not only was liberated by us, but was brought to this country aboard an American man-of-war.

Is that spirit dead in our State Department? Does it not realize that the priceless liberty we enjoy constitutes an obligation to assist others?

Why, in days gone by, Americans equipped expeditions to rescue patriots of other nations, and they were acclaimed by our entire people when they reached these friendly shores.

But Syngman Rhee is unnoticed, unaided and rebuffed. The door upon which he knocked at San Francisco was opened for the Argentine, but slammed in the face of this great man.

Is this cold and ruthless treatment in accord with the desires of the 250,000

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young American men who have already been killed on foreign soil in defense of American ideals of human freedom?

Is this cold and ruthless treatment in tune with the cheers and tears of the million who have just acclaimed our defenders from overseas—Eisenhower, Patton, Jimmy Doolittle, Spaatz, Omar Bradley and other recently welcomed heroes of liberty?

Is this the flowering heritage of democracy which took root at Runnymede 730 years ago?

I call upon the American people to demand the Americanization of their State Department.

I call upon the State Department not only to answer my questions but to make a living reality of the San Francisco charter.

Here are some of its vibrant sentences, pulsing with the warm blood of heroes:

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

All right; what about Korea?

And here's another:

Membership of the organization is open to all peace-loving states.

All right; what about Korea?

One more:

All members * * * shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any member or state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the organization.

And I ask again, What about Korea? Are we, for the second time in this century, going to betray the Korean people?

Are we going to forsake them and shatter their dream of democracy?

Are we going to sell them down the river to communism?

I believe the answer to these questions is "No." I believe the churches—Protestant and Catholic—will rise to preserve the worship of Christ, for more than a million Koreans believe His words.

I believe the answer "No" will roar eventually from the 11,000,000 of our men who have engaged in battle on 45 fronts the world over.

I believe they will answer for their comrades who lie at the bottom of the seven seas, on the blood-drenched fields of Europe, in Africa, Asia, the cold and wind-swept Aleutians, and those countless islands of the vast Pacific where the struggle still goes on.

I believe that their answer will be swelled by the answer of the folks at home.

In the security we enjoy because of the virility and courage of our fighting men, backed up by our genius for production and our willingness to work, we have achieved for this Nation a citadel of freedom.

Along the darkened road without, a stranger comes. He knocks and says: "I, too, believe in human liberty and have fought and suffered for it. Will you help me?"

God forbid that door ever remain unopened.

Mr. Speaker, what about Korea?

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 78th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

The Antistrike Bill

SPEECH
OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, June 12, 1943

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I no more relish the experience of making comment upon this measure than I do the occasion that makes it necessary to consider the proposed legislation. It is well known to the Members of the Senate that this measure is now before the Senate upon a conference report which represents the agreement arrived at by the managers of the House and the Senate deliberating together upon legislation passed by the respective bodies, in the Senate the Connally bill, and in the House the Smith bill.

It also should be known to the public, Mr. President, that when Senators vote this day, or whenever they shall vote upon the conference report, they do not vote upon it by part but as a whole. They have therefore not the privilege of selecting one portion and retaining another which might be more agreeable to them. They have to support the whole conference report or to reject the whole report.

I think it is known to those who are upon the floor at the present time and to the leaders of the Senate upon both sides of the aisle that an overwhelming majority of the membership of this body is disposed to favor legislation of this general character, and that in all probability by a large majority the conference report will be adopted by the membership of the Senate voting upon the conference report.

Therefore, Mr. President, one has to make up one's mind as to whether he will support the conference report or whether he will oppose it, and by opposing it give to the American people and to the men in the armed services and the women who wear the uniforms of our country the impression that the Congress is either unwilling or afraid—and the latter is the accusation which will be hurled against us—to deal with any kind of labor abuse.

Mr. President, it is essential to the preservation of the processes of democracy that the instruments of democracy be regarded with integrity by the people,

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and if those instrumentalities allow themselves to be intimidated, if ever the members of the body politic place their political welfare against an obligation of public duty, the means of maintaining the processes of democracy are already corroded and there is justification for the charge of decadence against democracy itself.

Mr. President, the Congress has been indulgent with labor extremists almost to a fault, due to the reluctance that many of us had to transgress in a field where we preferred voluntary action to take place. In fact the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate has been so indulgent as not only to be the subject of criticism but to cause the Senate itself to take away from that committee even jurisdiction over the subject of labor legislation, and I have been one of the ones responsible for and contributing to that attitude in that committee, Mr. President, and I say it without regret or apology.

Everyone knows that for some months the Committee on Education and Labor had been so indulgent in dealing with this subject that legislation of this character has originated in and been considered by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Yet I think, Mr. President, that such a policy of indulgence has been a wise one up to this present time. I think that if one balances the good against the bad which has come out of that policy, the good will be found to predominate.

But, Mr. President, the time has come now for the Congress to indicate to the American people that it is capable of suppressing an incipient insurrection by a would-be dictator who cloaks himself under the guise of a leader of honorable labor, for every Member of this body knows that we would not be here on Saturday afternoon debating this legislation had it not been for the offense of John L. Lewis against the public interest and his defiance of the constituted authority of this country in time of war.

Mr. President, I am one of those who regard John L. Lewis as the most dangerous man in America, because he is able, he is plausible, he is colorful, he is utterly ruthless and unscrupulous, and as ambitious as Caesar ever was. That man is capable of immeasurable danger to the American Republic, Mr. President. There was but one occasion for his antagonism against the President of the United States, and that was the fact

that the President was unwilling to be putty in his selfish and ambitious palm.

I made inquiry today of several persons with whom I came in contact as to what their understanding was about the so-called political contribution to the Democratic National Committee when the President was the nominee for President by the C. I. O., then headed by John L. Lewis—who gave it the only bad name it ever had. So that, in spite of the great virtue and character and unquestionable patriotism of its present president, one of the greatest of Americans, Philip Murray, that organization still has the odium of John L. Lewis' name to bear in my State and sections of the country, if not in others—I say I made inquiry, Mr. President, as to what the public opinion might be about that transaction. A great many persons, believing some of the columnists and the propagandists, said "Well, after all, Roosevelt is responsible for this man, because he has played along with John L. Lewis, and built him up, because he owed him a financial debt for the half million dollars he gave to his campaign fund."

Mr. President, I talked with several of those people. I said, "Do you understand that that was a loan, not a gift; and do you understand that every dollar and every penny of that money has been paid back?"

They said, "Frankly, I did not know that. I thought that was an outright donation by Mr. Lewis to the Democratic National Executive Committee, of which the President was the beneficiary."

When the President of the United States was elected with the aid of Mr. Lewis and his fine organization, knowing what subsequent events have proved about Mr. Lewis' character, I say Lewis expected to be the kitchen cabinet of this administration; he expected to be the power behind the scene, the uncrowned king of American policy.

The President of the United States—any President—does not need defense against such a belief. If he were worthy of the Presidency in the opinion of the American people, he would be above the suggestion of any such prostitution of his office or power.

But when the President did not elevate Mr. Lewis to such a place he incurred the undying enmity of an ambitious and disappointed man; and ever since that time, every dagger John L. Lewis could unsheath, every weapon he could un-

cover, every missile he could hurl at the person of the present President of the United States and his policy, John L. Lewis has thrown, regardless of the effect of that antagonism upon the welfare of his country.

Mr. President, that man went so far, in the elections of 1940, as to say that if the President of the United States then holding office were reelected by the democratic process by the American people—without soldiers at the ballot boxes, without any undemocratic coercion or intimidation that I know of upon the American people—he would resign the leadership of one of the great labor organizations of this country. That is a strange thing for a man to say: "If the present President of the United States is reelected, I will resign the leadership of this organization"—by implication admitting that the personal animosity would be so acute that he would either do a disservice to his organization by continuing in its leadership or to the country, perhaps, by continuing to exercise its power.

Mr. President, every Senator on this floor knows that John L. Lewis has been trying to steal the leadership of American labor from his worthier compatriots—and patriots—William Green and Philip Murray. Those men, day in and day out, have had to fight uprisings in their own ranks, uprisings perfectly natural in character, against the seductive persuasion of the ruthless and unscrupulous John L. Lewis.

Mr. President, human nature being what it is, laborers are just like all the rest of us. They like to get all they can for their labor. Naturally, they strive to do it—as do we all. But when Mr. Murray and Mr. Green were willing to jeopardize their own leadership in the public interest, when they had to put the strong hand of "No" before the claims of their own men and members—not John L. Lewis. He would not be willing to jeopardize his leadership in the public interest; no, he would come in and insidiously say to labor, led by those more honorable men, "Come with me, and I will get these increases for you, whatever may be their effect upon public policy or the prosecution of the war."

Mr. President, how far did he follow that course? To the point of open defiance of the constituted authority of his country, duly and regularly set up.

Mr. President, what about all the others who are amenable to the jurisdiction of the War Labor Board? Are they any less worthy in their claims, any less deserving in their aspirations? Are they any less entitled to any just award which may be bestowed upon them, or any injustice corrected? Of course not. I am speaking of the ranks of labor—not only the millions in the American Federation of Labor and in the Congress of Industrial Organizations, but all the millions in the railway brotherhoods and in the other magnificent labor organizations in this land of ours. They have submitted themselves in the proper way—in a patriotic way—to the constituted authority of their country. They may not be satisfied. They may

yet be making their claims. They may be insistent in their aspirations; but that is consistent with American democracy, Mr. President. But they have not defied their Government in time of war. They have religiously kept their faith and pledge of no strikes to the President and to their fellow countrymen.

Mr. President, there are many farmers in this country who do not think they are getting all they should get for their products. There are many white-collar workers who are not satisfied with what they have obtained. All over this great land there are special groups that want more. But, Mr. President, they are not defying the Government. The members of the soldiery were getting only \$30 a month. No doubt they would have liked to have had more. They got more by the action of this Congress, by the laudable efforts of the able senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] whom, I am sorry to say, I do not at present see in the Chamber so I can compliment him upon what he did for the soldiers. But, Mr. President, they did not strike for more. They did not say, "We will take our guns and go home."

No, Mr. President; they believed in the principle of democracy, which requires the democrat to abide by the decisions of duly constituted authority.

We on this floor, Mr. President, often have our individual desires defeated by the vote of our colleagues; yet how silly would be a Senator who resigned and said, "I will no longer participate in a body which goes contrary to my sentiments." We do not put a machine gun at the door and say, like the conquerors of old, "I will coerce this body until it submits." Many of us are lawyers or have been claimants in the courts. Because we lost our case, we did not resort to the jungle remedy of self-help, Mr. President. If a man had done that, we would not have modern civilization with all its refinements and all its strength.

So, Mr. President, that is the occasion for this legislation; and we all know it.

Some labor representatives are in the corridors of the Capitol today. Of course, they have a right to be here, but they do a disservice to the cause of labor in being here.

Let me explain why I say that, Mr. President. I hold in my hand just one typical letter on this subject from just a soldier. There is not a Senator on this floor, Mr. President, who has not received many similar letters. Here is what I see, Mr. President: An animosity growing so acute and so intense between the workers and the soldiers that, if allowed to continue unchecked, it jeopardizes the foundations of the Republic. For, Mr. President, I see coming the day, beyond even the war, when the soldiers will come home seeking the jobs they deserve. I can hear the evil and sinister whispers of the Fascists and the would-be dictators of America in their ears when they are unemployed and, perhaps, are suffering: "See over there? Do you see the factory? There is a closed shop there. Who are the fellows who are working? Why, the fellows who got \$20 a day and who lived in luxury while you

were in the grime of New Guinea or the Solomon Islands, in the Southwest Pacific, or mingling your blood with the dirt of another Flanders Fields."

If labor were organized to defend itself, it would not be unnatural to see the soldiers organized to defend their interests. Should there be not enough jobs for all and such bitter feelings as I have feared existed, then would come the danger of conflict and strife.

There are still many persons in America who would like to see trouble, and many who would be willing to agitate it, thinking that they would gain, upon the broken bodies of their fellow countrymen and our collapsed economy, the kind of power that Hitler has, which has come out of every age of chaos and confusion throughout the history of the world. That is not an illusion or a dream, Mr. President. Read the letters from soldiers and see how bitterly they feel about this subject.

I do not know whether there is any truth in what has been said to me by a citizen, to the effect that the Army and Navy have tried to encourage antagonism on the part of soldiers and sailors against labor. I have heard the charge made that bulletins are posted on the bulletin boards in the camps and around the naval stations, emphasizing all the strikes which occur, for the purpose of making the men angry and arousing their indignation against labor. I believe that to be unworthy of our armed forces. If it is true, it is a subject for proper investigation, reprimand, and punishment by the appropriate agencies of the Government. But, Mr. President, I cannot believe that the major part of this indignation does not originate from what the soldiers and sailors gather from contacts with their homes and from the common and public means of information and communication.

So, Mr. President, we have a situation in which the American people have turned their gaze upon the Congress, to learn whether or not every group and interest in America is subservient to the public interest in time of war. The proposed legislation which we have before us today confirms authority exercised numerous times by the President, to take over the factory or the facility of management. If we were considering a bill to affect only labor, and exempting management, I should certainly not favor it, and most Senators would not; but section 3 specifically confirms the power heretofore existing and confers a new power to take over any facility the operation of which by the Government may be essential to the prosecution of the war. In other parts of the conference report other provisions are made. For example, section 4 provides that the rules concerning the employment of the employees after possession is taken by the Government shall be the same as when the facility was taken over.

In section 5 authority is conferred for an application to the War Labor Board for a change in the terms of employment at Government-operated plants if the terms as they existed at the time of the transition are unsatisfactory to the employees.

Section 6 is the heart of the bill. Interference with governmental operation of plants is prohibited and made a penal offense. That was the Connally bill. I wish that were all of the conference report. I am sorry indeed that the House of Representatives chose to give rein to its indignation against labor—which I do not share, Mr. President—in matters extraneous to the prosecution of the war itself.

In section 6 it is made an offense for any person—

(1) To coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with, or encourage any person to interfere, by lock-out—

That covers employers—

strike, slow-down, or other interruption, with the operation of such plant, mine, or facility, or (2) to aid any such lock-out, strike, slow-down, or other interruption interfering with the operation of such plant, mine, or facility by giving direction or guidance in the conduct of such interruption, or by providing funds for the conduct or direction thereof or for the payment of strike, unemployment, or other benefits to those participating therein.

In protection of the rights of individual workers—

No individual shall be deemed to have violated the provisions of this section by reason only of his having ceased work or having refused to continue to work or to accept employment.

Mr. President, when the Government operates a facility to produce essential materials for war is it a democratic right to encourage an interruption of work in that facility? That is what Lewis has done. I hope all labor will realize that laws against labor are like the laws against murder. They are aimed only against the offenders, and not the good, the loyal, the worthy, the honorable, and the faithful. Members of this body do not regard the law against murder as aimed at them; but were there no laws against murder homicide would become frequent in America. I am not offended because there is a law against murder, because I do not intend to violate it. I do not deem it a reflection upon me, or an accusation against me of designs upon the lives of my fellow men. Such laws are aimed at restraining and punishing the murderer and the gangster.

Mr. President, I was saying that the heart of the bill is section 6. That is what I am voting for primarily. That is the Connally bill which the Senate passed. It provides that no one may interrupt war production after the Government takes over the facility.

There is another reason why I favor the Connally bill. I would not vote for a bill outlawing any kind of cessation of work. I would rather give the War Labor Board an opportunity to pass upon and consider such a matter first. I would rather give the Conciliation Service an opportunity to reconcile the differences between employer and employee, or between the Government and the employees before any law becomes effective. I would prefer that the President be given an opportunity to try to assuage the dissatisfaction of the complainants before the punishments of the law be-

come operative. Section 6 applies only after a facility is taken over by the Government in order to assure the continued production of war materials.

Section 7, with regard to the functions and duties of the National War Labor Board, I also regard as extraneous to this subject. I wish it had not been included in the conference report. It is not essential to the maintenance of production of essential war materials. It protects all the rights which have previously been conferred by statute. For example, the rights of workers under the wage and hour law. I had a campaign in 1938 because I favored and would not retreat from the wage and hour law. Section 7, however, protects all rights conferred by the National Labor Relations Act and other acts upon the statute books of the Nation.

I also regard section 8 as extraneous to the conference report. Meritorious in certain respects, it is not essential to this legislation. I wish it had been left out of the conference report.

I have already referred to the section dealing with political contributions by the labor organizations. I agree with the able Senator from Delaware in what he said about that section of the act.

I invite attention to section 10, however:

TERMINATION OF ACT

SEC. 10. Except as to offenses committed prior to such date, the provisions of this act and the amendments made by this act shall cease to be effective at the end of 6 months following the termination of hostilities in the present war, as proclaimed by the President, or upon the date (prior to the date of such proclamation) of the passage of a concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress stating that such provisions and amendments shall cease to be effective.

Mr. President, this is war legislation, and not peace legislation. If the provisions in this bill are not appropriate to peace conditions, they should be, and they will be, repealed or appropriately altered by the Congress. Members of Congress can initiate legislation next Monday to strike out of this measure objectionable features which it now contains. I shall join with any Senator in deleting all except the heart of it, namely, section 6, which has to do with the maintenance of essential production for the prosecution of the war. That is what is important.

Yet, Mr. President, if word goes out from this august chamber tonight that the Senate rejected the conference report, American public opinion and the sentiment of those in the services will not make hair-splitting distinctions between section 6 and sections 7, 8, or 9. They will condemn Senators as being too much afraid of their political futures to dare to say, even to John L. Lewis, "Thou shalt not stab thy country in the back in time of war. Thou canst not lead any group of men into national disservice." Those will be the headlines, however distorted newspaper headlines usually are, which will break upon the consciousness of the American public tomorrow.

We have been told that the British have not found coercive legislation necessary. I believe that is correct. But, thank God, they have not had a John L. Lewis in Britain.

Mr. President, I am proud of the record of labor in America during this war, and I am particularly proud that in my own State of Florida there has not been a single strike in a war industry. That is a record which deserves the highest praise and commendation.

But can I say, because we have had that splendid record, that John L. Lewis can defy the American Government without violating any statute?

Mr. President, the American people would think there was not a vertebra in the backbone of any Senator who would say such a thing, or they would question his patriotism.

Mr. President, my only hope is that labor will realize that this is not a condemnation of labor. This bill is aimed exclusively and solely at John L. Lewis. It is not even aimed at those honorable men in the United Mine Workers of America. Their record has been magnificent and patriotic. However, Mr. President, they cannot escape the character of their leader. John L. Lewis has put them into opposition to the national interest. They have not lost so much time, but think of all the other groups, and the sentiments which have been stirred in them for selfishness by the example of John L. Lewis in his insurrection, which has probed into the very heart of the war effort.

Of course, we will be condemned whichever side we take in this controversy. As usual, partisans want people on their side exclusively. They do not want any rationalization of the issue. They do not want a man to serve only the public interest. They generally put a man down as being on the side of labor or being against labor; and, of course, all of us, whichever way we vote, will have one partisan group or the other denouncing us as strangling the processes of democracy, and trying to heap opprobrium rather than deserved commendation upon them.

Mr. President, I do not believe any other Senator will claim a more constant record in support of the interest and cause of labor than that of the junior Senator from Florida—myself. I said to a great labor convention in my State, "Gentlemen, labor is on the defensive. If you do not clean house the public will clean house for you." They did not invite my advice. They were gracious in the way they received it. I am no oracle, Mr. President, but I believe I am right about that. They talk about preserving the gains of labor. The only way that can be done, Mr. President, is by keeping national indignation against excessive abuses of labor's power from growing so mighty that it will overflow every effort to defend legitimate labor interests.

I am saying that a little more of John L. Lewis' conduct and there will be violence in the United States. A little more provocation and even we who are the

friends of labor cannot save and safeguard labor's legitimate and proper gains.

Mr. President, I am giving labor some good advice as labor's friend. Quit charging these exorbitant fees for membership in the unions. Quit allowing certain members to abuse their power. Purge them, if you will. They do discredit to your splendid men, who are 999 and more out of 1,000 among the best of the Nation. But let Congress refuse moderate legislation, and the extremists will be here in our places, and the tide of their indignation will be such that none can stand against it.

We go into the next election, Mr. President, with this war going on, and with casualties multiplied more than a score of times, with rivers of America's blood flowing as it will in the next 20 months, and Members of Congress get up on the street corner, or at a public meeting, and try to explain the difference between section 6 and section 9, those present will howl and hiss them down.

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Then in our place will come labor baiters who may be the minions of a fascism, perhaps, that is against all democratic sentiment and interest.

This is one of those times when a little probing may save a dangerous operation later. That is why I am willing to take section 9. I am willing to take section 8, I am willing to take section 7, and others, in order to get section 6. We all know that if we will pass this law and John L. Lewis is properly handled, there will be no more labor legislation in the Congress, and there will be no more agitation for it. This bill is the best labor is going to be able to get, and we all know it. But deprive the people of this, and you will arouse such anger in the hearts of the American people, stimulated and encouraged by their sons in the service, that we will be back here in less than two more Saturday afternoons trying to find some bill we can pass.

Mr. President, as the title of the book written by Herbert Agar, from the great

State of Kentucky, recently published, suggests, it is *Time To Be Great*. We may this afternoon not only be rendering a great service to our country, but I think we are rendering a great service to the cause of American labor. I am willing to face them when events are proved, with the record. Let time prove if that may not be so.

Therefore, Mr. President, because it is in time of war, with which nothing must interfere—and with an equal willingness to put all necessary restraints and prohibitions upon anyone who may obstruct the war—in order to preserve the gains labor has made, in order that those gallant men of the armed services who are today, tonight, upon the high seas, in the jungle, and upon the snow-clad mountain tops in the remote Aleutians, in order that those men who fly higher than the eagles ever soared, wherever they are, may know that in their Congress the processes of democracy still fearlessly operate, I shall support the conference report.



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"The San Francisco Charter Points Toward Civilization"

SPEECH
OF
HON. WAYNE L. MORSE

OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, July 28, 1945

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in connection with the charter which is before the Senate, I wish to discuss two specific matters, first the question of the future of subjugated and oppressed peoples, and second, the future of the world court. I propose to discuss those two specific subjects because I think there is no hope for permanent peace in the world unless we remove the causes of war, economic, diplomatic, and political, and unless we provide machinery and the jurisdiction for its operation which will permit the application of the rules of reason and judicial processes to the settlement of international disputes.

I think that today we must think of the world of a hundred years from now, certainly of the world of a half century from now. If we are to be realistic about the great task that lies ahead for the human race, it seems to me we must realize that we cannot maintain peace in the world if oppressed peoples are not to be made free.

Mr. President, I believe always in talking in terms of specific instances, therefore, I wish to discuss for a few minutes the problems of Korea. I wish to use the people of Korea as an example of an oppressed people who I think will always be a challenge to the peace of the world unless the world under the San Francisco Charter permits Korea to be free.

There is a country on the other side of the world which I think we ought to take some time out to look at and think about. In American terms it is not a very large country—just a little larger than Utah or Minnesota. Its population numbers about 25,000,000. It does not have any army, now, or navy, either. It cannot do much to help us win the war—not yet, anyway—but it may have a lot to do with how well we shall be able to keep the peace.

The name of that country is Korea. Right now it is under the heel of the Japs, where it has been for a full generation. A lot of Americans have forgotten about it, and a lot more are hearing about Korea these days for the first time. Out in my State of Oregon we are interested

in Korea's past and even more interested in its future. For we know that what happens to Korea is going to make much difference in whether we can make a peace settlement in Asia that will stick, and we on the Pacific coast are vitally concerned with peace in the Pacific.

We remember, out in Oregon, that Korea has a history. We pass over its 4,000 years before the United States was ever born. We know that nations rise and fall. Korea had its best days about the time of Queen Elizabeth in England, and then the Japs under their first great militarist, Hideyoshi, set out to conquer them, and to go from there on to add China, India, and the Philippines to the Empire of the Rising Sun. This happened in 1592, and Hideyoshi thought he would sweep through Korea the first summer and be on his way into China. As a matter of fact, in 7 years of fighting he never got beyond Korea, and never conquered it.

But when we out in Oregon think of Korean history, we do not go back that far. We let the historians salute the Koreans for taking the Pearl Harbor blow of the sixteenth century, and stopping the Jap armies cold. Our knowledge of Korea starts with the nineteenth century, when the United States went into Korea to shake it out of its feudal past and bring it into the orbit of the western nations.

After Perry opened up Japan, American ships sometimes bumped against the coast of Korea, and several of them had trouble. Finally, in 1882, our Commodore R. W. Shufeldt sailed into Chemulpo Bay, right up to the front door of the capital city of Seoul, and arranged a treaty of commerce and mutual aid. Early in the next year the Senate confirmed that treaty. We were thinking mostly of the commerce, and the Koreans were thinking mostly of the mutual aid. We got the commerce, and we let them take the mutual aid on trust.

That is, we did until 1904, when they really needed some help. In that year the Japs pulled their sneak attack on Russia, and sent troops through Korea to attack Vladivostock. Those troops were never withdrawn. When the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed here in this country, with President Theodore Roosevelt's help, Korea was casually handed over to the Japs as a protectorate. Of course, the Koreans protested, but the State Department refused to

receive their mission until after the treaty had gone into effect. Five years later, in 1910, Japan incorporated Korea into its Empire, with all pretense of its independence dropped. We were the first country to close our diplomatic offices in Korea, and transfer all relations to our Embassy in Tokyo.

Through all the years since then the Koreans have fought in periodic revolutions for their freedom. In 1919 they formed a provisional republic, and have maintained it ever since. They have fruitlessly asked over and over again for recognition and help from the United States and other major powers. They have warned that Japan was using Korea as a base for an eventual attack on China. They have pointed out that as Hideyoshi's dream of conquest started with Korea 350 years ago, just so does the modern Jap plan outlined in the famous Tanaka Memorial depend upon Korea as the essential bridge between Japan and the continent. They pointed out the network of rail lines and highways the Japs were building in Korea, through country where their only use could be as military supply routes. But their pleas have all been turned aside. Through all the period between 1905 and 1941 we preferred appeasement of Japan to justice for Korea. We thought if we let the Japs alone with the conquests they had, they would be satisfied to stop. Pearl Harbor was the answer to that.

The only point in raking up these dead coals from the past is because they have a definite bearing on the future. I think they have a definite bearing on the San Francisco Charter. Korea will play the same major strategic role in the future of Asia that it has in the past. For the 1,500 years the Japs nursed dreams of military expansion Korea kept them bottled up on their own islands—until Korea was turned over to Jap control. In 1895 China and Japan fought a war for the control of Korea. In 1904 and 1905 Russia and Japan fought for the same reason. Japan won that time, and the invasions of Manchuria in 1931 and China in 1937 were the direct results.

The question now is what the future of Korea is going to be. Will it be a base left in the hands of the Japs for a comeback in another 25 years? The answer to that was given by Roosevelt and Churchill when they promised that all of Japan's conquests were to be taken away. Is Korea to be handed over to

China or to Russia, to become in their hands a threat aimed at one or the other of them? The answer to that question, too, ought to be "No," in terms of the Cairo pledge that "Korea shall, in due course, become free and independent." It is only an independent Korea that can serve the needs of stability in Asia and help establish lasting peace. As a free nation, without either the strength or the will to attack its neighbors, Korea will serve again as it has throughout its 4,000 years of history before 1905, as a buffer state. It would be the padding necessary to keep its ambitious neighbors apart.

This is the sort of function for Korea Sumner Welles had in mind when he wrote in his newspapers column, after leaving the State Department:

With the restoration of Korean independence, one of the great crimes of the twentieth century will have been rectified, and another stabilizing factor will have been added to the new international system which must be constructed in the Pacific.

It is important, then, that that Cairo pledge of independence to Korea should be kept—important not only to 25,000,000 Koreans, but to us here in the United States, and to all nations that hope to see the peace of the future preserved.

The reason this speech is being made is not to review history. Nor is it to invite us to congratulate ourselves because in freeing Korea we have found a way to help establish a lasting peace. In these busy times I would not be taking up the Senate's attention if everything were going so well for Korea.

The fact of the matter is that there is grave danger we shall miss our cue in this drama that is unfolding in the East. It looks very much as though we are going to resurrect two generals we buried long ago in the European war—Generals Too Little and Too Late. We are paying altogether too little attention to the urgencies of the Korean problem, and when we finally get around to studying it, we are very liable to find we are too late.

Right now Korea is not a nation—so far as we are concerned. It is simply a rebellious province of Japan. No Korean delegates were seated at San Francisco—though the Korean Provisional Republic earnestly requested it be granted that same privilege that was given to Argentina and to Ethiopia and to Turkey and the rest. But Korea could not be there, for Korea has no government that has been recognized by our Department of State. Consequently, Korea has no voice in the settlement of its own future. And it has no effective way of warning the western democracies that they seem to be drifting into the same kind of appeasement policy that was adopted toward Japan in 1905, and that may well have the same eventual results.

Members of the Senate will appreciate that Russia as well as Japan has a strong interest in Korea. Senators have heard the charge of the Korean Provisional Government that a secret agreement was signed at Yalta giving Korea to Russia, and Senators have read Under Secretary Grew's denial of the charge. I shall accept the denial. Senators have also read Prime Minister

Churchill's subsequent statement to the House of Commons that while there were no secret agreements of that sort made at Yalta, there were many intimate discussions of a sort that could not be revealed. It is altogether possible that the truth lies between the charge made by the Korean Provisional Government and the candid admission of the former British Prime Minister. From the trend of events we may well assume the likelihood that in the near future a Communist Korean government will be unveiled in Siberia or in Yenan and recognized by the Soviet Union as the true representative of the oppressed masses of Korea. Once that step is taken the result will be very much like the surrender of Korea to Japan in 1905.

We do know for certain that thousands of Korean exiles have been welcomed, educated, and trained for war and government in Siberia. We know that when Japan has been driven from Korea these Siberian exiles will be returning to their homes. We can hope that their effect will be only to create a bond of friendship and trade between Korea and the Soviet Union. As such they could help establish prosperity for a free Korea and make it easier for Russia to secure the ice-free ports it needs in that country, without military, political, or economic domination. This is a positive contribution of real value which the Korean Communist exiles might be able to make.

But they will play such a role only if it is a free and democratic Korea to which they return. Their influence will be beneficial only if Korea has a truly representative government, and is supported in its independence by the friendship of the United States and the other democracies of the west. This is the condition I propose that we ought to bring about.

While the initiative still remains in our hands, I propose that the United States recognize the Korean Provisional Republic as the provisional government of Korea. I think we should at the same time promise the Korean people that just as soon as conditions permit we shall supervise a free election by which they may choose a government wholly of their own choice. And I believe we should then stand beside and behind that government with a real pledge to support its independence and give it a chance to rebuild the country the Japs have ravaged and exploited for over 35 years.

If we continue simply to drift along waiting for events to take their course, we can be confident of what course they will take. If we abandon Korea, it can scarcely fail to drop like a ripe plum into Russia's lap. If, on the other hand, we speak up boldly now and place the seal of our approval and support on Korea's determination to be free, we shall be taking a positive step that will help Russia along with all the rest of the world. For we shall be helping to assure that the Orient of the postwar years will be stable and will remain at peace.

I think the recognition of the Korean Provincial Government is not something that should be longer delayed, and I speak on it today, Mr. President, because I think Korea offers us a great and specific example of a future problem that

is going to confront the United Nations of the world if they truly function in keeping with the spirit and the intent of the San Francisco Charter. If we keep faith with the charter we must see to it that in the decades ahead the world frees its suppressed and oppressed peoples. We cannot have a free world without its being a world of free people. We cannot have lasting peace if some peoples are oppressed and enslaved. Tyranny and exploitation are breeding grounds of war. I recognize that these great world changes to which I allude cannot come overnight, and should not come overnight, because the world will have to grow in the habits of peace. Under the San Francisco Treaty the great powers of the world have the chance to develop the procedures, rules, and policies to make possible the settlement of these great racial problems—for that is what they are in part—these great problems of oppressed peoples, in an international court where judicial processes and rules of reason will prevail.

Mr. President, I think I would be false to realism if I did not, in the midst of this historic debate, point out that all the San Francisco Charter does is to give men an opportunity to become civilized. It gives men an opportunity, in the course of the decades immediately ahead, to recognize that freedom is not an empty phrase, that freedom is a dynamic concept, that freedom does not exist in a world in which any part of the world is inhabited by oppressed and suppressed peoples.

Mr. President, that brings me to the second major part of my speech on the San Francisco Charter. I use Korea as only one example of the problems which lie ahead in connection with making the world truly free. That freedom cannot be accomplished through war. I am one who believes that it can be accomplished only to the extent that we accept and devote ourselves to the objectives of a great international court, a court which I hope by the end of the next half century will be given jurisdiction over many disputes which have heretofore been denied an international court. So, in this second part of my speech I wish to use the World Court as another specific example of the great challenge which this treaty offers the peoples of the world.

Mr. President, the subject on which I now wish to speak lies at the very heart of any approach to organization for peace. I am speaking of the settlement of disputes between states, and address myself particularly to the World Court—the judicial organ of the United Nations. The charter provides in chapter XIV for the establishment of an international court as one of the principal organs of the new organization. The statute of the Court is annexed to the charter and forms an integral part of it, so that ratification will cover both documents.

Whether we look upon the charter as being primarily a method for enforcing the peace, or as a method for furthering and achieving international cooperation, or as a combination of the two, which it probably is, it is impossible to avoid the elementary conclusion that peaceful international relations must have a

solid and firm foundation in law. It is an often repeated truism that the achievement of peace means the substitution of the rule of law for that of force in international relations.

The focusing of attention on the problem of international security and the power of the Security Council to repress threats to the peace tend to obscure the fact that the charter not only attempts to regulate the use of force in the interests of all but also provides for actual decisions by a court of law. The decisions of the International Court of Justice are not likely to prove as sensational as the acts of the Security Council in a crisis, but they will form part of the quiet operation of the organization by which the habit of peaceful international cooperation will be developed. The criticisms which may be leveled at the political organs of the organization cannot be directed against the Court. Here there is no veto by the great powers; here there is no danger of a deal dictated by power politics or the expedencies of the moment. The Court will be composed of truly independent judges, owing their offices to no one state. Its decisions will be rendered in accordance with international law, as recognized by all civilized nations, and its conduct of cases will be regulated by the strict rules laid down in its statute. If states wish to have an impartial settlement of their legal rights, they may go into the Court with absolute assurance that this is exactly what they will get.

In giving our advice and consent that this charter be ratified, we should, I believe, realize that the organs provided for the carrying out of its purposes are as yet rudimentary in form, and that we should regard this step as the first in a series which must be taken if the United Nations Organization is to cope with the complex conditions of present-day international society. This is true of the Court.

It is true that the international judiciary as an institution now has a substantial history behind it. The charter states in article 92 that the statute of the new court is based on that of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was organized in 1920 and which functioned with distinction until the outbreak of the present war. The Report of the Committee of the San Francisco Conference which dealt with the judiciary lays stress upon the importance of maintaining the link of continuity with the traditions and jurisprudence of that Court. It is significant that all of the international institutions and experience of the past 25 years, the institution which the nations represented at San Francisco most wanted to preserve was the Permanent Court of International Justice. The report of the President to the Senate states that there was unanimous agreement that it had rendered effective service and had made an excellent record. Fifty-one States had been parties to the Court's Statute, and the exercise of its jurisdiction had produced general satisfaction throughout the world. But 16 of the States parties to the old statute, including enemy States, were not repre-

sented at San Francisco, while a number of members of the United Nations who were represented at the Conference were not parties to that statute, for example, the United States and Russia.

So far as enemy States are concerned, no difficulties were anticipated, since changes in the old statute could have been dealt with in the peace treaties, but a different solution would have been called for with respect to the neutral states. It was argued that a statute to which they were parties and the Court operating under it could not be changed and taken over without their consent, and yet it was obviously not feasible to include them in the deliberations of the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations.

Although not a member of the League of Nations, the United States signed the Protocol of Signature of 1920 to which was attached a statute under which the new court functioned, and in 1923 President Harding asked the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification. The Senate in 1926 stated certain reservations and conditions under which the United States might ratify. Over the course of 9 years negotiations were carried on with the states which were parties to the statute of the Court and with the League of Nations. The statute was revised in an attempt to meet the views of the Senate, but in a final Senate vote of January 29, 1935, the necessary two-thirds majority required for approval was not secured. The fact that the United States was not a member of the League of Nations to which the Permanent Court of International Justice was related was no doubt a principal reason for the objections to our participation. It is well to note that a series of distinguished citizens of this country have been closely identified with it. These include Elihu Root, a member of the advisory committee of jurists which drafted the Court's statute in 1920, and John Bassett Moore, Charles Evans Hughes, Frank B. Kellogg, and Manley O. Hudson who have served as judges of the Court. In fact, at all times in the Court's history it has listed an American citizen among its roster of distinguished judges.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, in spite of the fine record and traditions of the Permanent Court, the Hague Court of Arbitration, and of other distinguished international tribunals, the international judiciary must, I believe, as a judicial system, thus far be regarded as a primitive form of legal institution. I take satisfaction, however, in the belief that in this particular field advances have taken place in world thinking that bring us to the threshold of perhaps the greatest material achievement yet accomplished in the direction of organizing world peace and security. This opportunity which lies before us, and which I believe the Senate should not overlook, lies in strengthening and broadening the jurisdiction of the Court.

The basic jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice was over cases voluntarily brought before it by agreement of the parties. This kind of jurisdiction was, of course, nothing new. States had in numerous instances submitted their differences to arbitral tribunals by agreement, and the United

States submitted many such cases in the period between the two wars and made many treaties agreeing to do so.

I cite as examples of arbitrations in which the United States participated recently the United States-Mexican Claims Commission, the United States-German Claims Commission, and the United States-Turkish Claims Commission. The claims arbitrated by these commissions ran into the thousands.

The mere fact of instituting a permanent world judiciary did little or nothing to bring to adjudication cases which would not have been submitted in any case. Even in 1920 there was a strong feeling that this was inadequate, and the statute drafted in that year by the Advisory Committee of Jurists which included Mr. Root, contained a provision that the Court should have jurisdiction without special agreement in four defined categories of cases, namely, those concerning: (a) The interpretation of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

However, this article proved to be unacceptable when submitted to the League organs, despite eloquent appeals by representatives of countries which today are our heroic allies, and which have suffered most grievously in the present war.

As a compromise there was approved as paragraph 2 of article 36 of the statute a provision under which such states as desired to do so might sign declarations accepting the jurisdiction of the Court in advance and without special agreement in cases of the categories mentioned, and as respects other states signing similar declarations. States which have signed declarations under the optional clause, for example, Mr. President, include almost all the countries of the world: Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia—I could go on down the alphabet, and it would be found that the majority of nations have signed such declarations. Such declarations were signed at one time or another by upward of 40 countries, including three of our great allies in this war, China, the United Kingdom, and France. In addition, many treaties contain provisions that questions arising from their application should be referred to the Court. In these ways there was achieved a very wide submission to the Court's jurisdiction, waiving the necessity of special agreements.

At San Francisco the attempt was renewed to obtain general compulsory jurisdiction and the records of the meetings indicate that the effort was eloquent and determined. The report of the committee which dealt with the judiciary records that a majority of the states actually favored compulsory jurisdiction. However, as some delegates felt that such a provision would jeopardize their countries' or other countries' acceptance of the charter, the compromise of 1920 was again adopted in substance. The question of jurisdiction was thus in effect passed back to the individual states, and

it is one which we cannot, in conscience, avoid. It is, in my judgment, Mr. President, the next great step which I think should be taken in implementing the charter.

Moreover, in addition to providing for possible acceptances of jurisdiction under paragraph 2 of article 36, the Conference inserted an additional paragraph providing that declarations already in existence as among the parties and applying to the old Court shall continue in existence and shall apply to the new Court. Thus, the new Court will start on its way with a substantial number of its members obligated in advance to submit to its jurisdiction.

Mr. President, a quick check of a standard treatise on the World Court indicates that 19 states will be so bound upon ratifying the treaty. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point a list of the states which my study leads me to believe will be automatically bound under the optional clause upon ratifying the charter, the total number being 19. The number may not be exact, but I think it is relatively so.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATES AUTOMATICALLY BOUND UNDER THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE UPON RATIFYING THE CHARTER—TOTAL NUMBER, 19

Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Haiti, India, Iraq, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, El Salvador, South Africa, United Kingdom, Uruguay.

Other countries would probably be included, but their declarations expired during the present war, and they were not in a position to renew. France, for instance, was in such a position.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Conference did one thing more. A resolution recommending that members of the Organization make declarations under the so-called optional clause was approved by a committee of the Fourth Commission, and finally by the plenary conference; and, as the Members of the Senate know, the fourth commission was assigned jurisdiction within the Conference of juridical problems. It was divided into two committees, one on the world court and the other on miscellaneous legal problems. I am pleased to find in studying the record of the conference that the votes, both in the fourth commission and in the plenary conference, were without dissent. That does not mean that the votes were unanimous in the sense that all voted. Some refrained from voting.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. What was the specific question on which the vote was unanimous?

Mr. MORSE. That was in regard to a resolution recommending that members of the organization make declarations under the optional clause. Also it should be noted that prior to the San Francisco Conference a number of important American organizations placed themselves on record as favoring general compulsory jurisdiction. These include the

American Bar Association, the Federal Bar Association, the Inter-American Bar Association, and the American Society of International Law. In addition, a number of prominent individuals have endorsed this concept. They include the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. Austin] and former Associate Justice Roberts of the Supreme Court.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Because the Senator has not mentioned it, I assume that the American delegation did not so put itself on record.

Mr. MORSE. Earlier in my remarks, I explained that the American delegation did not so put itself on record.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MORSE. And I am sure the very able and distinguished senior Senator from Michigan will be able to explain to the Senator from Colorado, as he explained on the floor of the Senate yesterday, as I understood his remarks, why they felt that the compulsory jurisdiction question should be separated from consideration of the charter itself. As I understand it, they felt that it should not become involved in consideration of the charter, but that the charter should be considered independently, and the Senate of the United States should at a later date decide whether it wished to adopt the policy of having this country accept compulsory jurisdiction of the court.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I take it from the remarks just made by the Senator from Oregon that he believes that question is a senatorial question and should be raised by treaty.

Mr. MORSE. Decidedly so; and let me say to the Senator from Colorado that I am sure I shall make that clear before I close my remarks, and I am sure the resolution which I am going to offer at the close of my remarks will leave no room for doubt in regard to it.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I would refresh the Senator's memory on the fact that Mr. Hackworth, speaking for himself and possibly for the State Department, wrote a memorandum to the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan which, to me, is not entirely clear in all its aspects; but certainly it contains a strong intimation, if not a direct statement, that such matters might be handled by the action of the whole Congress or by action on a treaty. The Senator does not understand that senatorial opinion is controlled by an opinion from Mr. Hackworth.

Mr. MORSE. Certainly not the opinion of the junior Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MILLIKIN. In the Senator's opinion, the whole question remains open for future decision by the Senate.

Mr. MORSE. That is why I shall introduce a resolution at the close of my remarks which I hope will bring forth a full debate upon the subject next fall.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Colorado referred to Mr. Hack-

worth's letter. Of course, it was Mr. Hackworth's personal opinion which was expressed in the letter, but I believe that inherent Mr. Hackworth's letter is a clear intimation that the matter is one for Congress to settle, because he indicates textually that precise fact. He indicates his own slant of mind in respect to what the congressional decision should be, but I think he concedes that it is a congressional decision.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I, of course, have no objection to any personal opinion which Mr. Hackworth may have. I merely want to make sure that there is no what might be called official opinion by the delegates to the convention, or by the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, or by the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan which might give official face to Mr. Hackworth's opinion and make it in any way binding upon the Senate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I am sure Mr. Hackworth could not bind the Senate. So far as I am concerned, the importance of Mr. Hackworth's observation, at least from my own point of view, lies almost exclusively in the fact that it forecloses the possibility, from Mr. Hackworth's point of view, that adherence to the court could be ordered by a Presidential executive order without consultation with Congress or the Senate.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. Hackworth's memorandum, as I interpret it, refers to one category of cases upon which he bases the belief that the President could submit this country to the Court without reference to Congress. The basis of Mr. Hackworth's conclusion is the traditional handling of claims by means of diplomacy when this Government is not confronted with the possibility of additional responsibility or additional liability being imposed upon it as a result of that kind of a reference. At the moment I am not prepared to dispute the correctness of that opinion. However, if I read his opinion correctly, he establishes an alternative so far as the submissions of other types of jurisdiction to the Court are concerned. He says, on the one hand, that if Congress prescribes the procedure, we shall adhere to it. If Congress does not prescribe the procedure, we shall refer it to the Senate. I do not intend to engage in a debate on the subject, but it is perfectly obvious that so far as the treaty-making power of the Senate is concerned, Congress cannot change it in one way or the other, for that power rests in the Constitution.

All that I am driving at, I may say to the Senator from Michigan, is the end point that nothing contained in Hackworth's memorandum, or nothing that has been said here on the floor of the Senate, forecloses full good-faith discussion with reference to what action in the matter the Senate shall take in the future.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I agree with the Senator from Colorado. Mr. Hackworth's statement, so far as I am concerned, does, however, foreclose the State Department from ever suggesting hereafter

that these decisions can be made exclusively by Executive order through the White House.

Mr. MILLIKIN. That is true, excepting in that narrow line of cases to which I have referred.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. MILLIKIN. I should like to propound a question to the Senator from Texas. I wonder if the Senator heard this discussion.

Mr. CONNALLY. I ask the Senator to excuse me at this time.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I share the views of the Senator from Colorado and the Senator from Michigan on the point that any future action taken in regard to accepting compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court, so far as this country is concerned, involves a matter which must come to the Senate of the United States in the first instance.

Mr. President, I could cite a long list of experts in the field of international law, and quote from them in support of the view which I hold, namely, that if the World Court is really to become a vital and effective force in the future in maintaining world peace through the exercise of judicial process, its jurisdiction must be enlarged, and countries of the world must be willing to submit themselves to its compulsory jurisdiction.

I shall not take the time of the Senate to quote from a great many experts and authorities on international law, but for the RECORD I should like to read a brief quotation from Professor Lauterpacht, a distinguished British authority on international law, in his book, *The Function of Law in the International Community*, which says at page 429:

There is a glaring contradiction in the idea that in a society of states which are ex. hypothesi independent of one another, and in relation of equality to each other, one state may legally claim the right to remain judge in a dispute in which the rights of another state are involved—a contradiction which is not solved but accentuated by the rights of other states to disregard any decision thus reached, and in turn to set themselves up as judges on the disputed right * * * the existing rule, that the jurisdiction of international courts is in principle voluntary, is upon analysis nothing else than the right to exercise jurisdiction over a foreign state, not in minor matters * * * but in international relations proper.

In the report of the meetings of the 1920 Committee of Jurists, which made the original draft of the Court's statute, Mr. Elihu Root's remarks are reported as follows, on page 230:

The hopes of the world rested upon the realization of the rule of law. The creation of institutions with this object contains the germ of future development. Legal decisions based on previous decisions, of the same kind, it is this way that progress is possible. The world would become accustomed to act according to law. This does not apply to decisions taken by the Council. The Committee therefore should try to induce the nations to agree to a revision by which every question relating to the interpretation of a contract or a principle of law must be settled by judicial means.

Mr. President, the issue as between voluntary and compulsory jurisdiction is the difference between shadow and substance. Nothing whatever is gained by

merely stating that law must replace force as the governing factor of international relations. So long as states have the option of withholding their legal disputes from adjudication, this remains an empty phrase, of which we have had too many in the past. In spite of the undeveloped character of its institutions, international law itself is a well-developed body of law, capable of playing a great role if regularly called upon and obeyed by states, and capable of much greater development if we will but make use of it. The mechanism for the selection of judges is such that only those of the highest capacity and integrity have any chance of sitting on its bench.

Mr. President, the materials and procedures are at hand, but they are of little use if we refuse to utilize them in cases of real importance. We need to know in a given case what the applicable rule of law is, and only a court can tell us that.

As a people we have long placed our faith in the law. As a lawyer and legislator I feel that the best hope of a stable world order lies in the development and strengthening of the rule of law. This means, as a practical matter, the development and strengthening of the jurisdiction of the Court.

The adoption of the present article 36 of the statute, containing the so-called optional clause, leaves the way open for the achievement of general compulsory jurisdiction. If all states sign declarations under the optional clause, the same result will be achieved as if general compulsory jurisdiction had been incorporated in the statute from the outset.

It is very much to be hoped that this will be done. It is very important that the United States do its part to bring this to fulfillment, and in order to facilitate this, Mr. President, and in order to dispel any doubts about the attitude of the Senate, I am filing a resolution to be considered when we reconvene, proposing that the United States accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court.

A substantial number of countries, including some of the great powers, will bind themselves automatically in this way upon ratifying the charter, by virtue of declarations already in force. Many other countries will soon take the same step, and it is important that the United States take a leading part in this as we did in making the charter in San Francisco. We must show the world our interest and sincerity in developing the new system of international law and order. Other states have reason to wonder how sincere we are in adopting a system which we have always rejected before; and this would reassure them, would doubtless lead to imitation by many other states, and be in perfect accord with our own beliefs and practice. We could hardly do it before our people accepted the international organization; having accepted the charter it is the logical next step, and will be an inspiration to the world.

Should this be done, Mr. President, we may occasionally have to take an adverse decision that we will not like, but I can see no alternative to war other than a system under which the various countries

submit their disputes to the rule of law and, if they prove to have been wrong, in accordance with decisions by impartial judicial minds, the nations should accept the verdict, even if they do not like it.

Mr. President, I have spoken on only one of the great forces of the charter, the World Court. I believe it is such a creative and dynamic power for giving life and strength to a war-sick world that through its jurisdiction and procedures is to be found our best hope for bringing law and order into international relations. In ratifying this charter we are taking an important step along a long and hopeful road with a goal which has yet to be reached by the human race in its struggle to become civilized. Although we flatter ourselves by referring to our society as civilized, objectivity should force us to admit that resort to war is man's self-indictment of his primitive state. Have not the destruction, misery, blood, tears, and death which man has visited upon himself in the present holocaust of war, unequaled in all of history, finally taught the peoples of the world that if they are to reach the goal of the civilized state they must learn to live in peace?

Law and order, based upon rules of reason, are the instruments of peace. The San Francisco Charter, in the form of the treaty which it is our privilege as the representatives of a free people to ratify today, points the way to civilization. Through the processes of its general assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, and World Court, rules of reason and just decisions can be made to prevail over the primitive weapons of economic exploitation, suppression of weaker peoples, military might, and periodic resort to war. The hour is historic, the obligation sacred, the challenge great.

In keeping faith with the hour, the obligation, and the challenge, I offer to the Senate of the United States for early consideration and action following ratification of the treaty now pending before the Senate the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Senate hereby recommends that the President of the United States deposit with the Secretary General of the United Nations, whenever that official shall have been installed in office, a declaration under paragraph 2 of article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice recognizing as compulsory ipso facto and without special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in all legal disputes hereafter arising concerning:

- a. The interpretation of a treaty;
- b. Any question of international law;
- c. The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; and
- d. The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

Provided, That such declaration should be for a period of not to exceed 5 years, and should exclude from its operation:

- a. Disputes in regard to which the parties to the dispute have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of specific settlement; and
- b. Disputes with regard to questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Provided further, That the President be and hereby is requested to furnish the Senate for its information a copy of any declaration filed by him pursuant to this resolution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit the resolution and ask that it be referred to the appropriate committee. I do so with the firm conviction that the resolution fixes the great responsibility of the Senate of the United States to keep faith with the spirit and intent of the San Francisco Charter, namely, that we will cooperate with the nations of the world in substituting rules of reason and principles of international law and justice in the settlement of international problems of the decades of the future. Only by keeping that faith can we establish a world of permanent peace.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 160), submitted by Mr. MORSE, was received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, before the Senator from Oregon takes his seat, will he yield to me?

Mr. MORSE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am sorry that I missed the Senator's discussion of the first point he submitted. I was called from the floor by a committee meeting. It was my understanding that he was urging in a general way that this institution must in no sense freeze a static

world against an opportunity for peaceful change in behalf of oppressed peoples of the world.

Mr. MORSE. That is my thesis.

Mr. VANDENBERG. May I ask the Senator whether he called attention to article 14 in that connection?

Mr. MORSE. I did not specifically.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator will permit I would like to say very briefly that article 14 is, in my opinion, the direct and specific answer to the Senator's prayer. Very little attention has been paid to it in this debate. It is very brief, and I want to call attention to its language:

The General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present charter setting forth the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

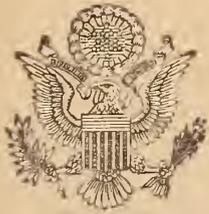
When we turn to the principles and purposes of the United Nations we find among other things a dedication to the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. Therefore article 14 actually may be read as follows:

The General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, or which

threaten to violate the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

Mr. President, while article 14 carries with it only the power of discussion and recommendation in the Assembly, I think article 14 is the heart and core of the promise of this great adventure in behalf of the disappointed and distressed peoples of the earth, those particularly who may find themselves in distress and disappointment as the result of the expedient liquidations of this war. I think that this is our guaranty that we are not underwriting a static world, but that we do propose to create an outlet for the peaceful settlement and the peaceful adjustment of disputes of this character, of situations of this character, so that the world may progress in liberty and freedom by the process of peaceful change.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I want to thank the Senator from Michigan for his excellent contribution to the discussion. I am in complete agreement with him. In fact, the article to which he refers I think is one of the great inspirations that is to be found in the San Francisco Charter. Under that article I think the oppressed peoples of the world can take hope, and I am convinced that the implementation of that article is going to result during the next 50 years in many peoples not now free finding their freedom under the democratic and judicial processes of the charter.



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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 78th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

The Washington, D. C., Sedition Trial

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

September 8, 1944

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I rise to discuss the so-called sedition trial which is now taking place here in the city of Washington.

In time of war every precaution should be taken to protect the armed forces, their dependents, the citizens of the United States, and the country itself, and I applaud the efforts of officials when they do this, but also in time of war extraordinary precautions should be taken that innocent people should not be deprived of their constitutional rights.

Certainly, in this war the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle, has not gone witch hunting, and just as certainly his record, when compared to that of A. Mitchell Palmer, the Attorney General in World War No. 1, is most commendable. It is that very fact, Mr. President, which makes the action of the Attorney General in the so-called sedition cases all the more inexplicable. I realize that a Senator who takes up the cudgels in behalf of these people on trial is instantly met with the report of the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, that the courts are handling this matter and that the legislative branch of the Government should not interfere with the judicial branch.

DUTY TO PROTEST

Indeed the report of the subcommittee states nothing should be done until after the courts are through with this matter, but, Mr. President, with that conclusion I disagree. Certainly, it would be the duty of the Congress, as the legislative branch representing the people, to protest if the President, as the Executive head, was infringing upon the rights of the people—in fact, Congress has often done so; and likewise I believe it is the duty of the Congress, as the representative of the people, to bring to the attention of the country any flagrant cases in which the rights of the people in the courts are jeopardized.

So, Mr. President, whether I am right or whether I am wrong, as long as I believe I am right I shall never shirk what I conceive to be my duty in fighting to preserve the rights of any man or wo-

man, regardless of race, color, or creed, whether rich or poor.

PEOPLE CAN BE TRUSTED

Mr. President, I have always been one of those in public life who believe that the rank and file of the people can be trusted. I do not believe in secrecy and star-chamber proceedings on the part of those elected to serve the people of this country. I do not believe, for example, that the O. P. A. should have the right to sue a farmer or an implement dealer and have the Office of Price Administration as the prosecutor, the judge, and the jury. I believe, on the contrary, that every man should have his day in court, and have it openly, and honestly; and if the defendant is without means, the court should give him proper paid representation. Mr. President, the people of my State believe that. They abhor railroading anyone to the penitentiary. They abhor even the appearance of it.

RIGHTS SHOULD BE PROTECTED

They want the rights of the defendant as well protected as the rights of the State which is prosecuting him. I say this from my experience as county attorney and one who for two terms held the office of attorney general. I say it as one who has been in court frequently, not only as an attorney, but as a litigant and as a defendant in civil and criminal cases.

CLAIM OF WORLD-WIDE CONSPIRACY

The prosecution in its opening statement in the present trial claimed that these defendants were part of a world-wide conspiracy, that their intent was to overthrow democracy throughout the world, and that they had underground armies. We were given to understand, with much fanfare, including press, screen, and radio publicity, that civilization was hanging by a hair until these defendants were brought from the four corners of the Nation and put on trial here in Washington.

WHO ARE THESE THIRTY?

Who are these 30 allegedly world-shaking defendants, most of whom have been indicted 3 times—1942, 1943, and 1944—on similar conspiracy charges and brought to trial only April 17 of this year? The public has been led to believe that they are powerful, and that some of them are very wealthy. What is the truth, the cold, stark naked truth, as to who these 30 defendants are?

GARNER

One of them is Elmer J. Garner, a little old gentleman of 83, almost stone deaf,

with 3 great grandchildren. After he lost the mailing permit for his little weekly paper, he lived with his aged wife through small donations, keeping a goat and a few chickens and raising vegetables on his small home plot. Held in the District jail for several weeks for lack of bond fees, and finally impoverished by 3 indictments and forced trips and stays in Washington, he died alone in a Washington rooming house early in this trial with 40 cents in his pocket. His body was shipped naked in a wooden box to his ailing, impoverished widow, his 2 suits and typewriter being held, so that clothing had to be purchased for his funeral. That is one of the dangerous men about whom we have been hearing so much.

TRUE

Another frail aged defendant, James True, who has been too ill since 1940 to write or work at anything, was severed from the trial when he became too ill to get to court.

BAXTER

Another defendant, David Baxter, a sign painter who wrote a little, was indicted at least twice with most of the other defendants and was kept in the District jail for lack of funds. After many weeks of the present trial, his case was severed because he was unable to hear anything that went on at the trial, since he was 80-percent deaf. Small contributions eked out by unpaid court-appointed attorneys and other defendants barely kept him and his wife and their two small children alive in a Washington slum until he could get back to his little California sign-painting shop.

DENNETT

Another defendant, Prescott Freese Dennett, had served his country honorably and is still a private in the United States Army. He has not been disciplined nor discharged by the Army, but was taken from the Walter Reed Hospital, where he was undergoing treatment, when the trial started, and was deprived of Army support and forbidden to wear his Army uniform to court.

ELMHURST

Another, Ernest F. Elmhurst, had been a waiter in New York hotels and wrote a book. He has been working nights in Washington hotels while on trial, and has been followed up and caused to lose these jobs because of being a defendant.

ALDERMAN

Another, Garland L. Alderman, a young man whose wife and child are

being supported by relatives, was chairman of a Michigan America First Committee chapter. He has been working nights here while on trial, since April 17.

LYMAN

Another, William Robert Lyman, Jr., has a brother in service who was recently cited for bravery. He has worked at one odd job or another and peddled literature. He was working as a seaman in the United States merchant marine, transporting supplies to England in 1942. While in England he read about his first indictment and immediately returned to America and went to the Department of Justice and gave himself up. He was kept in the District jail for 5 weeks for lack of bond money. He now ekes out a bare living while on trial here.

SAGE

Another, E. J. Parker Sage, has been a Detroit factory worker. He lost his night job in Washington when it became known that he was a defendant in this trial.

HUDSON

Another, Charles B. Hudson, formerly issued a small home-mimeographed bulletin. His wife kept roomers, and for several years he was unable to get his teeth fixed because of lack of money. One of the defendants who has been dragged here, one of those who, it is said, are so powerful that they are going to overthrow democracy in this country, one of those who have underground armies in the United States, for several years was unable to have his teeth fixed because he did not have money enough to pay the dentist. His wife kept roomers. He lost his old car, and when this trial started, they had to break up their home and put their furniture in storage. They live in one room here in a rooming house, sleeping on one three-quarter size bed.

EDMONDSON

One frail, aged defendant, Robert E. Edmondson, has been unable to work at anything since 1940. His money is gone. He and his wife depend upon small donations. Mr. President, they depend upon charity.

STAHRENBERG

Another, Peter Stahrenberg, formerly a small printer, shares a cheap room here with another defendant and works nights at odd jobs for a living.

DENNIS

Another, Lawrence Dennis, is a man of moderate means and a former member of the United States Consular Service. He is defending himself as his own attorney and rooms here with his wife and two small daughters.

DEATHERAGE

Another, George Deatherage, is an industrial efficiency engineer with a son fighting in the service.

BROENSTRUPP

Another defendant, Howard V. Broenstrup, whose specialty is eccentric occultism, has been under treatment at a veterans' hospital for undernourishment.

WASHBURN

One woman defendant, Lois de Lafayette Washburn, was working at housework when indicted and arrested. Two or three of the defendants had large imaginations and little paper organizations composed of themselves and very few, if any, others. Several of the defendants have sons in active service.

SANCTUARY

Another defendant, Col. Eugene Nelson Sanctuary, is an aged gentleman who served in World War No. 1, and received high military praise. He has written many hymns and has conducted Bible classes. As a result of the three indictments and the shock of his being kidnapped during his wife's absence from their apartment, and held in jail for weeks until he could make bond, his wife has had two strokes, and they are impoverished, spending their last few dollars saved for their old age.

NOBLE—SON IN SERVICE

One of the defendants, Robert Noble, recently severed from the trial—although he was convicted in California and is now serving time—so if he committed any crime, he is now being punished, has a son in active service in the Navy of this country.

Eight of the defendants are in custody as political prisoners or, as some claim, at least, for being German born. One of them in March of this year lost a son fighting under the American flag in Italy, and has another son now serving in north Africa.

WINROD—SON IN SERVICE

Another defendant is a Christian minister, Mr. Gerald B. Winrod, and he also has a son in the armed services.

DILLING—SON IN SERVICE

The son of the other woman defendant, Mr. President, who is Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, graduated on March 4 from officer candidate school, but a few hours before graduation his commission was withheld, allegedly, although I do not state it as a fact, because his mother is a defendant in this trial. Her writings have been recommended by the Army and Navy Register, the American Legion's National Americanization Commission, the National Sojourners, and other similar organizations.

One defendant has made 11 trips from Chicago to Washington in connection with arraignments, hearings, and trial on these indictments.

ONLY TWO HAVE PAID ATTORNEYS

Mr. President, out of all 29 of the defendants, only two have paid attorneys. Two of the defendants managed to raise bare living expenses for their attorneys, aided by contributions. Two defendants are acting as their own lawyers. The other defendants being paupers are represented by unpaid, court-appointed lawyers.

Would it not seem that these unpaid, court-appointed attorneys have sacrificed enough through loss of practice and income in the interest of justice, by having already served for 5 months for nothing in these trials? Is it not also time to let the defendants go back to their

homes and work, after being held under indictment for over 2 years, undergoing the constant hardship of raising bond, fees, and expenses to go to and stay in Washington?

DO THESE SUPPORT ARMIES?

How many underground armies, fleets, or battleships, Mr. President, do you or does any other fair-minded American citizen think these defendants are capable of maintaining? Take for example the old gentleman who died, partially from starvation, with 40 cents in his pockets.

Therefore, Mr. President, when I have received from North Dakota letters relative to the sedition cases which are now pending in Washington, I have been impressed by the fact that the people of my State and, I believe, of the entire country do not believe that the defendants in the sedition cases are receiving a square deal.

PUBLIC PROTEST

I wish to read a typical letter which I received from Mrs. H. L. Shelley, of Watford City, N. Dak. She is a fine, splendid, patriotic lady, one whose life has been without blemish, a lady of splendid character, a lady of outstanding reputation, an honest, God-fearing advocate of what she believes to be right. She sent me the following typical letter:

WATFORD CITY, N. DAK., July 27, 1944.

DEAR MR. LANGER: Am enclosing a letter which is self-explanatory. I do not need to tell you of the ruthless persecution of innocent subjects which is going on in Washington. Please read the enclosed letter carefully. It may throw a new light on the situation.

Knowing how you yourself have suffered from similar persecutions and believing you still have your old fighting spirit left, I am appealing to you to do all that you can to stop these unjust suits. We are coming in on both ends of the expense (though that is the minor part—against seeing the innocent used so unjustly). We pay our taxes to help prosecute them, and donate money to the helpless ones who are unable to finance their own defense, which runs into big money when they are dragged up time after time. Personally I'm getting tired of it and I think it is high time there was a lasting muzzle put on some of these birds.

When you were in trouble we did all we could to help you, and only a few months ago one of our leading commentators "took your name in vain." You may be sure he got told off—and on a post card, too, so all could see you still had one friend. Now I'm depending on you to help these unfortunates.

Yours for a better America,

Mrs. H. L. SHELLEY.

TAXPAYERS EXPENSE

In connection with that letter, in which Mrs. Shelley mentioned the expense, I need only call to the attention of the Members of this body the fact that various newspapers have said that the cost to our taxpayers of prosecuting those defendants, whose condition I have described, will be between one-half a million dollars and three-quarters of a million dollars.

Mr. President, until a few days ago I did not know any of these defendants. Then I chanced to meet some of them who came to see me in my office. One of them, a Mr. Noble, wrote me from prison,

and I helped secure a lawyer for him, and the lawyer succeeded in having his case dismissed.

Until day before yesterday I had never met Mr. Viereck or Mr. Jones or Mrs. Dilling or any of the other defendants whose names we see in the newspapers so much. Incidentally, let me say that Mr. Jones, who is from California, is now an old man, but for 10 years was editor of Life magazine.

As I just said, I had not seen any of the other defendants, except for the three or four I have mentioned. But as a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, day before yesterday I conceived it to be my duty actually to attend a session of the court where these men and women are being tried.

WASHINGTON POST PROTESTS

Mr. President, I frankly confess that I went into that courtroom prejudiced in favor of the defendants. I was prejudiced by reason of an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post. Mr. Eugene Meyer, the editor and publisher of the Washington Post, is a very prominent citizen of Washington. His wife, Mrs. Agnes Meyer, is one of the outstanding women of America, and in many instances she has rendered splendid service to the people of this country. As I have said, I was prejudiced by reason of the fact that the Washington Post, which Mr. Meyer owns, and which assisted in originating the so-called sedition cases, on July 16, published an editorial which reads as follows:

MASS TRIAL

The severance of 3 cases from Washington's mass sedition trial is the best news that has come out of this dreary affair in Judge Eicher's court. It clearly suggests belated recognition of the mistake that was made in bringing 30 individuals of widely varying temperaments and backgrounds to trial at the same time and place for a series of alleged offenses classified as sedition.

One defendant recently died. Another is too ill to attend court sessions regularly. A third found it difficult to follow the proceedings because of limited hearing. A fourth proved to be so obstreperous as seriously to interfere with the progress of the trial. In other words, the exigencies of human life are such as to defeat most any attempt to dispose of complicated criminal charges en masse with both fairness and dispatch. It is a pity that the Department of Justice did not foresee this objection to mass trials before embarking on such an adventure.

The fact that 4 cases have been eliminated from the trial is overshadowed, therefore, by the larger fact that 26 cases remain before the court. We hope that better progress can now be made, but no end of even the presentation of evidence by the prosecution is in sight after 13 weeks. How can the jurymen be expected to remember testimony given many weeks before their verdict will be rendered? How can they, in these circumstances, distinguish the varying degrees of guilt, if any, among the 26 remaining defendants? We fear that whatever may be the outcome of this trial it will stand as a black mark against American justice for many years to come.

On July 28, 1944, the Washington Post carried another editorial on the same subject. I again invite attention of the Senate to the fact that the Washington Post helped gather the evidence which

is being used at the trial. The Washington Post helped originate the sedition cases. I now read what it said in an editorial on July 28, 1944, entitled "Courtroom Farce":

For weeks Washington has been aware of the farcical nature of the sedition trial that is droning on from one weary session to another in Justice Eicher's court. Everyone who reads the newspapers knows that the trial has been characterized by obstruction, unruly conduct on the part of some of the defendants, unreasonable delays, prolongation of the testimony and cross-examination, and laxity of control or direction. If there were any lingering doubts as to the farcical nature of the trial, they must have been removed by James E. Chinn's factual account of the proceedings on the "third day of the fifteenth week" in the Post yesterday.

Justice Eicher has undoubtedly tried to make the best of a bad situation. He has attempted to prevent the trial from being turned into a comedy of errors; he has tried to keep it moving toward a conclusion. But the very nature of the case has thwarted his efforts. Mass trials may possibly be successful where the issues are simple and the testimony is brief—or where the Russian technique of condemning the defendants first and putting on a trial for show is used. But where the issues are complicated and defendants who have not been browbeaten stand on their democratic rights, a trial involving more than two dozen individuals is almost certain to be a fizzle.

We think the time has come to recognize the unlikelihood of securing any fair approximation to justice from this unhappy experiment. The end of the Government's testimony is nowhere in sight. Prosecutors have 4,000 exhibits to offer in evidence and only about one-eighth of them are in the record at present.

TRIAL TO RUN YEARS

I digress for a moment in order to say that Mr. Meyer has far, far understated the number of exhibits, because when I was in the courtroom day before yesterday the prosecutor offered Government's exhibit 4,121, and I understand the trial yet has many weeks to go.

I continue reading the editorial:

Prosecutors have 4,000 exhibits to offer in evidence and only about one-eighth of them are in the record at present. That will make 3,200 altogether. Then each of the 26 defendants will have to present his case. At its present rate of progress, therefore, the trial may run on for several years after the war is over.

Mr. President, I do not say that. That is said in the editorial of the Washington Post, the newspaper which sent Mr. Stokes, one of its employees, to dig up the evidence; the newspaper which helped originate the trial.

The editorial continues:

Meanwhile it is gravely undermining confidence in American justice.

Apparently it would be impossible now to end this sorry spectacle and try the individual defendants separately. But the court could probably sever additional cases and insist that the testimony be stripped down to essentials. After all, this is a trial of men and women accused of sedition, not a contest in befuddlement. In our opinion the trial can continue its present course only at the cost of serious impairment of our judicial system and the reputations of those responsible for this travesty.

Here we see America at its best. We see Eugene Meyer, editor and publisher of the Washington Post, after he has de-

cidated that the defendants whom he himself helped to have arrested are not getting a square deal, frankly saying so in his newspaper.

THE PATHFINDER

Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to an article in America's oldest weekly publication, the Pathfinder. The article is an indication of what the American people think of the pending sedition trial. I understand that the Pathfinder has a circulation of nearly a million. The article to which I refer appeared in the issue of July 24, 1944. I wonder, Mr. President, what the nearly a million persons who are subscribers to the Pathfinder thought when they read the editorial entitled "Three Months in a Brawlroom," which, as I have said, was published in the Pathfinder of July 24, 1944. The article is as follows:

Last week, while Washington's million war workers panted through the third week of a heat wave, three other people were legally kicked out of an air-conditioned court chamber to sweat with them. Their discharge, for trial at some unnamed date in the future, lowered to 26 the motley company of German aliens, professional rabblers, and weirdly prejudiced citizens who have argued and jeered through 14 weeks in the cool, green chamber of Criminal Division No. 1 in the United States District Court Building.

They have been in the same room since April 17 and, from all indications, will still be there at snowfall. One of the original company of 30 is, gratefully, dead. The others, strange cats in the garret of United States jurisprudence, continue to cuss the court, the Federal authorities, one another, and, occasionally, themselves.

This is the unhappy spectacle of the so-called sedition trial, the largest trial for a crime of this nature in American history. Most of the 29 defendants, grouped together in a large enclosure at the center of the courtroom, object strenuously to being tried with their codefendants. The crime charged against them is conspiracy to cause insubordination in the armed forces, largely by printed material. They did not all join in one publication. They did not separately do identical or even similar acts. Several of them have carried on campaigns of anti-Semitism for the past 10 or 12 years. Others are ex-leaders of the bund and similar tub-thumping, pro-Nazi organizations of the 1930's.

Ten of the original 30 are in jail already for seditious offenses. Some are infamous, some have no past criminal record; some are mentally unbalanced.

I ask any Senator upon this floor how he would like to have his brother or his sister or his son or daughter tried with 28 other defendants, some of them mentally unbalanced.

Several defendants have voted for separate trials on the ground that a chosen few of their codefendants are insane. One defendant failed to appear when the trial was set, and explained it by charging that the New Deal interfered with his mail notice of the date.

About half of the defendants are represented by attorneys appointed by the court, who receive no compensation. More than 3,000 pages of record had been amassed by court reports before any evidence was offered in the trial.

I wish to repeat that statement. This is what the Pathfinder says:

More than 3,000 pages of record had been amassed by court reports before any evidence was offered in the trial. For a defendant to obtain a copy of this record would cost \$1,200.

COST OF RECORD PROHIBITIVE

So, Mr. President, I may digress for a moment to say, we find that honest men and women, some of them with sons fighting for this Government, are brought into court and before one word of testimony is offered, if they want to get a copy of what has transpired up to that time, they must pay \$1,200. I ask you, Mr. President, if that be justice, if it is in accordance with the rights guaranteed to the defendants by the Constitution of the United States.

The article in this usually reliable weekly newspaper, the oldest weekly in America, the Pathfinder, goes on to say:

Such a copy of the record is a substantial aid to the defense. The prosecuting attorney has a copy.

In other words, Mr. President, to digress once more, the taxpayers pay \$1,200 to give the prosecution a copy, but if one of the defendants wants a copy of what has transpired he must pay \$1,200.

The court ruled it had no power to supply defendants with free copies of the record.

The courtroom atmosphere, from the beginning, has been pandemonium. Rulings of the court have been met with cries of "unreasonable" and "unjust." In open court there has been booing, cheering, loud laughter, moans, and catcalls. To be heard, attorneys must shout. At times the voices of court and attorneys have been drowned in the uproar. The judge has been attacked as too biased to preside.

Four defense attorneys have been fined for contempt of court and other actions.

That is the picture. It offends good taste. It is a questionable experiment in United States trial procedure. For an opinion on the questions of jurisprudence and common rights involved in the trial, Pathfinder went to the famed legal authority Arthur Garfield Hays, director of the American Civil Liberties Union and erstwhile champion of the defendants in the Scopes, Sacco-Vanzetti, and Reichstag "fire" trials. Mr. Hays' statement, prepared exclusively for Pathfinder, follows in full.

Here it is:

In connection with the sedition conspiracy cases in Washington, the position of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which I am general counsel, has been set forth in a statement heretofore sent you.

In substance, that position is that the union reserves participation in the case until the issues are clear, which would come about in the event of conviction and appeal, this chiefly because it is understood that the Government claims that it has evidence involving the receipt by some of the defendants (prior to the entry of this country into the war) of funds from the German Government.

The union is interested in the case because it involves questions of free speech. We hope that the Government will be held to the test of the "clear and present danger" rule as laid down by Mr. Justice Holmes in the last war and in this, we refer to "clear and present danger" at the time of the acts or words of which complaint is made. The union regrets the Government's resort to the 1940 peacetime Sedition Act. It is our view that there should be no such law applicable in time of peace. Also, we object to trials of a number of people on conspiracy charges; we recognize that such methods savor of tyranny and

are of great danger to defendants who may be innocent.

PRESIDENT TAFT ON CONSPIRACY

Mr. President, to digress from the article, I wish to quote no less an authority than William Howard Taft, former President of the United States and later Chief Justice. I have in my hand the recommendation made by the Chief Justice and the conference of senior circuit judges of the United States, which was adopted on June 9, 1925. Chief Justice Taft transmitted to the circuit judges and the district judges of the United States certain resolutions adopted by the conference for their guidance.

Among other things, here is what was said by the Chief Justice, a man who had been President of this country, a man who never, so far as I know, has been accused of being a radical or being disloyal to this great America of ours, and his statement was sent to every law-enforcement officer in the Department of Justice and to the Attorney General himself. The Chief Justice said:

Further, the rules of evidence in conspiracy cases make them most difficult to try without prejudice to an innocent defendant.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SARGENT

Mr. President, at the same time the Attorney General of this country under Calvin Coolidge was John Sargent, and in the reports of the Attorney General on pages 5 to 8 we find him referring to conspiracies, and he quotes Chief Justice Taft:

Further, the rules of evidence in conspiracy cases make them most difficult to try without prejudice to an innocent defendant.

TRYING STRANGERS TOGETHER

Mr. President, the words of the former President and late Chief Justice of the United States should serve as a beacon light. The idea of bringing together for one trial in Washington 30 people who never saw each other, who never wrote to each other, some of whom did not know that the others existed, with some of them allegedly insane, and the majority of them unable to hire a lawyer. And remember, they were brought to Washington from California and Chicago and other States a long way from Washington, placed in one room and all tried at the same time, with the 29 sitting idly by while the testimony against one of them may go on for weeks and weeks and weeks, the testimony of a man or woman other defendants never saw before in their lives. That is what is taking place in Washington today. The article in the Pathfinder, the oldest weekly in America, continues:

While the above expresses the point of view of the A. C. L. U., I personally am unreservedly opposed to this prosecution in Washington. In the first place, and as of course, I object to the Smith Act which makes so-called seditious utterances a crime even in time of peace. No one can tell until the happening of subsequent events whether what he is saying will turn out to be seditious or not. It is clear to me that if we had not gone to war with Germany and Japan, these people would never have been prosecuted.

Secondly, I abhor the thought of people, most of them poor, being dragged from various parts of the country to face a serious trial far from home, on a charge of conspiracy to

commit a crime with others, most of them complete strangers. In that trial they will be faced with responsibility not only for what they have done or said, but for what the others have done or said—of which they may have no knowledge. For that is what happens in conspiracy trials. Very often this is the very purpose of bringing this sort of an indictment.

TRIED FOR OTHERS' WORDS

I shall repeat that language, Mr. President, because of its tremendous importance:

In that trial they will be faced with responsibility not only for what they have done or said, but for what the others may have done or said—of which they may have no knowledge. For that is what happens in conspiracy trials.

Is that not what Chief Justice Taft said?

IS THIS THE PURPOSE?

Very often this is the very purpose of bringing this sort of an indictment. If any of these people have violated the law, they should be charged with the substantive crime at the place where it was committed.

I am sure that the great jurist, Chief Justice Taft, had that in mind when he said what I have just quoted, at the time he called in the judges from all the circuits.

Mr. President, if a man robs a bank he is tried at the place where the robbery occurred, or at least in the State. If a man commits a murder in the State of Tennessee, he is tried in your State of Tennessee, Mr. President. He is tried before a jury of his peers. He is tried before a jury that knows the conditions existing in the State of Tennessee. But here, Mr. President, we find men and women brought 3,000 miles, some of them, to the city of Washington, where some of them have never been before in all their lives, brought here to the city of Washington where there is a large jury panel made up in many cases of men and women a majority of whom or relatives of whom are in the pay of the United States Government. Such individuals are placed upon a jury. I do not know whether any such are on the present jury or not, but, Mr. President, I condemn the system which permits fine, loyal Americans to be brought from California or Tennessee or North Dakota or any other State to be tried in the city of Washington, hundreds, if not thousands, of miles away from their homes.

The article in the Pathfinder continues:

Thirdly, the evidence will revolve largely about what these various people said during the period from the passage of the Smith Act until December 7, 1941. It is alleged in the indictment that as part of the conspiracy, various of the defendants said certain things; thus each defendant from the point of view of the jury will be connected not only with what he said, but, likewise, with what 29 other people said, * * * a sort of prosecution for speech once removed, or for someone else's speech, and this in spite of the first amendment that Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech.

Fourthly, I am particularly opposed to a situation where in time of war men are tried because of statements in time of peace. Those utterances may have meant quite different things in the setting of peacetime. Whatever may be the court's charge, it is

impossible for any jury at the present time to fit these words into the background in which they were said.

Fifthly, the proceedings on the trial emphasize how difficult, if not impossible, it is to hold a fair trial in wartime in such a case.

WORLD'S WARTIME CAPITAL

I may digress once more, Mr. President, to say that of all the cities of the United States, none has a more dangerous wartime atmosphere for these defendants than the city of Washington, which is the wartime Capital, not only of this country but of the entire world.

The article in the Pathfinder continues:

If, as is claimed, some of the defendants are unsound mentally, their antics may well prejudice the jury against the others. Boos and catcalls during the opening statement of the prosecution, the giving of the Nazi salute by one of the defendants, the unseemly behavior of the lawyers for some of the defendants—all these things are prejudicial to all of the defendants. It is all very well for a judge to charge a jury that no defendant is responsible for what another has done except in the course of the conspiracy, but everyone knows that when a thought once gets into the mind of a human being—even when he is, or particularly when he is on a jury—nothing on earth can get it out again. And it must be remembered that the views of all these people are properly distasteful to any American jury at the present time. Clarence Darrow used to say that a jury is apt to convict if it does not like the defendant.

From the viewpoint of public policy, it seems to me that no good purpose is served by a trial of this kind. The charge is that the acts of the defendants (chiefly words of the defendants) were likely to and were intended to incite disaffection in the armed forces. If we were actually afraid of those words spoken or written in 1941, we would hardly provide a public forum which would result in those words being read by millions of people. I am convinced that we are not much afraid of the effect of what the defendants said. We are moved by a desire to "get" people we don't like.

Finally, one cannot doubt that prosecutions of this kind have an unfavorable effect upon the free expression of opinion and upon untrammelled debate. The prosecution of a few people is comparatively unimportant. But the result is that thousands, perhaps millions of people, fear to express any critical point of view because of the intimidating effects of prosecutions of this kind.

The Government is 100 percent for the war, so are our educational institutions, and with few exceptions, so are the radio, the pulpit, and the newspapers. The Government should have sufficient confidence in the loyalty of our people not to fear dissent from the fractional proportion of crackpots who may at one time have had or even today may have, obnoxious views. The war itself "shut up" most of them, until the Government through this prosecution again opened their mouths.

After having said the above, I wish to express my appreciation of the commendable restraint shown by the Government in having brought so few cases seriously challenging freedom of speech, or of the press. This is particularly emphasized by comparison with the last war. In addition, I would like to add that the one thing that gives me faith that the Government has some substantial evidence against the defendants, or at least against some of them, is the fact that the prosecuting attorney is John Rogge. Yet, as I have stated, even if the Government has evidence along the lines suggested, a prosecution for seditious conspiracy, in my opin-

ion, should never have been brought. If any of these men were paid by the German Government and failed to register, they should have been prosecuted for that crime. If any have incited to riot or to violence, or to a breach of the peace, or to any other violation of law, they should have been prosecuted for that crime. The answer might be that that wouldn't have made a "state" trial nor provided so good a show. The public always has an appetite for a Roman circus.

Yours truly,

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS.

AMERICAN JUSTICE FOR ALL

Mr. President, the Washington Post, and the Pathfinder, have described this situation. The people of America can trust both of these newspapers because they are both located in Washington and are intimately acquainted with the facts and are strong enough and unafraid enough to tell the truth about these trials regardless of contemptible slurs, or disgusting sneers, or challenges against their patriotic integrity.

The attitude of these newspapers, and the letters which I have received from North Dakota and other places, including the letter which I received from Mrs. Shelley, are an inspiration.

Last week the distinguished senior Senator from California [Mr. JOHNSON] when he eulogized the late Senator George Norris, stated that he had "dreamed a dream" which eventually became a realization with the actual building of the T. V. A. I am one of those who have always "dreamed a dream" that America should have the best judicial system of any country in this world, a judicial system under which any defendant, no matter how rich or how poor, no matter what his color, creed, or religion, whether in wartime, or peacetime, should be given a fair trial.

THIS TRIAL IS NOT FAIR

Mr. President, I agree with Eugene Meyer. I agree with the article in Pathfinder, that these defendants are not getting a fair trial. If any Senator thinks that any one of these defendants is getting a fair trial, I suggest that if his brother, sister, father, or mother were on trial under similar circumstances, he would be loud in his protest.

It is right to say that a person who has done wrong should be prosecuted, and it may be said that some of these defendants may have made ill-advised statements or writings of opinion; but I respectfully submit that if these were of a serious enough nature there is a proper way to try these men and women, and that is the good old-fashioned American way of bringing the person or persons to trial on the particular facts in his or her case and letting the jury pass upon those facts without being befuddled with the facts in 29 other cases tried at the same time.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SHOULD DISMISS

I have been impressed with the fact that some of the outstanding lawyers in Washington are almost unanimous in their opinion of what they term a legal farce, or a perversion of justice. I believe, Mr. President, that the Attorney General of this country should dismiss these cases promptly.

Mr. President, I believe that in the interest of good government, in the interest of seeing that the right kind of attitude is maintained by the American people toward the courts, the Attorney General should do as I have suggested, and I hope he will.

ELIZABETH DILLING

In conclusion, let me say that perhaps the most striking of all the defendants is the lady from Chicago about whom we have read so much. I had never met her until day before yesterday. After I met Mrs. Dilling in the courtroom I inquired from some in whose judgment I have confidence, whether or not she was a dangerous character, as had been contended by some of the newspapers of the country. I was amazed—nay, Mr. President, I was more than amazed—when I discovered the background of this lady. While I was in the courtroom I secured a copy of the opening speech to the jury in behalf of Elizabeth Dilling, as delivered by her attorney, her husband, Albert W. Dilling, on the 22d day of last May. It interested and fascinated me to such an extent that I wish to read a portion of it to the distinguished Members of this body. This is what the lawyer for this lady stated in his opening address to the jury:

May it please the court, and ladies and gentlemen of the jury—

There are two ladies on the jury—

the evidence introduced in this cause on behalf of Defendant Elizabeth Dilling will prove conclusively, not only that she has never written nor uttered a single word, nor ever performed a single act or had a single motive, charged by the prosecution in the indictment herein, but that, on the contrary, her every thought, word, and deed since she first commenced to take an active interest in public affairs, on our return from Russia in the fall of 1931, has been in support and defense of our present form of government, the American Constitution, and the American flag, in support of strong national defense, and against all enemies of these, including communism and all other "isms" except Americanism; that her lone crusade has laid particular stress upon communism because of what she saw in Russia of its atheistic tyranny and because of the great strides its ideology and followers have made in this country in churches, educational institutions, unions, and political life and power, particularly during the present administration. Its actual menace to our Christian institutions and to Christianity as a whole, which is Mrs. Dilling's main concern, will be shown with factual detail.

As "intention" is the essence of the falsely alleged crime charged against Mrs. Dilling, I would like to relate something of her background in order that you ladies and gentlemen may better understand the intentions and motives impelling Mrs. Dilling to engage in this lone crusade for almost 13 years, to the exclusion of everything else except her home responsibilities, expending her time, energy, peace of mind, and funds, and being subjected to a continual barrage of vilification and abuse, including criminal libel, as will be developed by testimony during this trial.

HER BACKGROUND

Mrs. Dilling was born in Chicago, Ill. Her mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Harding. She was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and her mother and father were Cleveland pioneers who had traveled from Philadelphia by

ox team over log corduroy roads in a trek consuming 8 months. Mrs. Dilling's maternal grandmother was English-born Jane Musquet, whose mother was English and whose father was French, her uncle having been a Catholic priest in Paris. She came to the United States with her parents at the age of 9; they were shipwrecked off the American coast and her father died from exposure. Jane Musquet married Thomas Harding, also English-born, who came from a family in which there was a long line of Church of England bishops.

Mrs. Dilling's father, a celebrated physician and surgeon, was Dr. Lafayette Kirkpatrick. The name Lafayette was given him because one of his maternal ancestors had met and admired General Lafayette at the time of the American War for Independence. His great-grandfather was born in Virginia. Before that the Kirkpatricks had come from the north of Ireland, where they had fled from Scotland to escape political persecution. The Kirkpatrick estate still exists at Rathfreeland, County Down, Ireland.

After Dr. Kirkpatrick's death, when Mrs. Dilling was 6 weeks old, and her brother, Lafayette Harding Kirkpatrick, 7 years old, Mrs. Dilling's mother brought them up alone. Mrs. Dilling has often told audiences about her mother, with her sister and English-born mother, making an 8 months' tour of Europe at the time Mrs. Dilling's mother was about 20 years old and about all of them having cried with joy when they caught sight of the Statue of Liberty on their return; how the arrogant attitude of the British toward even English-born American citizens had nettled them and made them realize that their allegiance to America, like that of George Washington, also of English ancestry, was 100 percent, without hyphenation. Mrs. Dilling has often told how in childhood, she used to think that it was silly of her mother to cry about getting home; that if she ever got to travel abroad she would only cry because the trip was over, but this was before she actually did travel all over the world and in so doing learn why and how dearly she loved this country. Each trip has made her the more grateful for having been born an American and made her understand why people all over the world want to come here to live.

EDUCATION

Mrs. Dilling was educated at the Chicago Normal School, attended the Academy of Our Lady in Chicago, where she took up the study of the harp, graduated from the Starrett School for Girls and took special courses at the University of Chicago during 4 years, studied with Walfried Singer, Chicago Symphony Orchestra harpist, and with the world's greatest harpist, Alberto Salvi, who prepared her to play concertos for symphony orchestra; she also had special French study from childhood.

TRAVELED WIDELY HERE AND ABROAD

From her mother she inherited the desire to see the world and before we were married (May 8, 1918) she had traveled with her mother and brother all over the United States and into Canada and Mexico and had literally "seen America first."

We shall show how Mrs. Dilling's opposition before Pearl Harbor to United States involvement in World War No. 2 started in 1923, many years prior to the rise of Hitler. During World War No. 1 she knitted scarves for soldiers to "help make the world safe for democracy." In 1923, I had occasion to go to London and took Mrs. Dilling and our son, Kirkpatrick, then 3 years old, along. On that trip, Mrs. Dilling was amazed to find not one person in England and France to whom she talked (and Mrs. Dilling speaks, reads and writes French fluently) who would admit that the United States deserved any credit for or had anything to do with winning World

War No. 1. They merely berated us for not coming in sooner. They called the United States "Uncle Shylock" for making any mention of war or post-war debts. In a huge panorama in Paris, depicting the nations that had participated in the World War on the allied side, Mrs. Dilling was perturbed to note that the American flag and any United States representation were conspicuous by their absence. She questioned the guide but he could make no explanation as to why they were absent.

UPHOLDS UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND UNITED STATES NAVY

Our little boy wore a cap with the words "U. S. Navy" on the ribbon and this elicited more than one insult from perfect strangers, British travelers we encountered. When for the second time the remark was made, "That is quite a joke, that Navy of yours, isn't it?", Mrs. Dilling finally replied in exasperation, "I don't know that it is such a joke. It has been able to lick Great Britain twice and I think it could do it again!" The same attitude was evident in 1928 when we were touring north Africa. For instance at Biskra at the edge of the Sahara desert, in a long conversation Mrs. Dilling had with a well-informed British woman who also maintained that the Americans had done nothing in the World War, were crude, were Shylocks, mongrels, etc., when Mrs. Dilling spoke of the high prices and difficulty in securing help during the war, this woman characteristically replied, "I can't see what possible difference the war could have made to you Americans!" British newspapers continuously up to and including the summer of 1939 when our entire family toured England and other countries, reflected the same critical anti-American attitudes.

We shall show that all of such first-hand experience on many family trips abroad engendered in Mrs. Dilling a conviction that our participation and sacrifices in World War No. 1 were not only unappreciated but had bred positive jealousy, envy, and enmity toward us on the part of those Allies whom we had aided. Repeatedly she declared that we would be suckers to ever again become embroiled in the quarrels and wars of Europe, and that George Washington's advice to avoid entangling foreign alliances had been right in that respect as in others.

MORE FAMILY BACKGROUND

The evidence will show that Mrs. Dilling and I met in the summer of 1917 and were married on May 8, 1918, at La Porte, Ind., in a civil ceremony, which was followed on August 12, 1918, by an Episcopal service at the Episcopal Cathedral in Chicago; that we started from scratch, I having had nothing to offer but a good education, bright prospects, good health, and some sizable debts; that we borrowed money and bought a home in Wilmette, Ill., on time, and that Mrs. Dilling remodeled it and kept roomers to help pay for it; she played the harp at church services and I sang as bass soloist; that I soon secured a much better position and we started to prosper; that a little later Mrs. Dilling received substantial legacies from the estates of her mother and a couple of aunts of means, and we were then able to indulge in our flair for travel, as has already been discussed. The evidence will also show that I was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, and that I was raised as a Lutheran. My parents were both born in Norway and so were their ancestors, as far back as I have been able to ascertain. That I was confirmed in Norwegian in a Lutheran church, and that, after our marriage, I joined the Episcopal church, of which Mrs. Dilling was a communicant, and was subsequently confirmed again in that church. That we have two children—Kirkpatrick, his mother's maiden name, now 24 years old, and Elizabeth Jane, now 18 years old. That both children attended kindergarten and grammar school

in Kenilworth, Ill. (a suburb of Chicago), where we lived. That our son attended New Trier High School in Winnetka, Ill., near our home, and later attended Cornell University for 1 year and Northwestern University for 3 years, where he received a degree of bachelor of science in law. Elizabeth Jane attended a private high school for girls, Roycemore, in Evanston, Ill., and until this trial started spent the current school year at Northwestern University, Evanston. Both children have been confirmed in the Episcopal church.

SON VOLUNTEERED

That Kirkpatrick was a member of the R. O. T. C. at Cornell University and is imbued with the same love of country that has all along inspired his mother. That he volunteered in September 1941 at his local draft board for induction and was given a IV-F rejection because of bad eyesight. That thereafter, from the time of Pearl Harbor until November 1942, he stormed every Army and Navy office in Chicago in unsuccessful attempts to enlist. That in January 1942 though he was then employed in a defense plant in an important capacity, he, nevertheless, turned down industrial deferment, in writing, to be inducted into the Army on January 10, 1943. He was passed as officer material by two officer candidate school boards (Hammer Field, Calif., and Hamilton Field, Calif.). That he entered the Army Air Forces Officer Candidate School at Miami Beach, Fla., on November 15, 1943, and successfully completed a 4-month course. That he was to have graduated and been commissioned on March 4, 1944, but that 18 hours before graduation his commission was held up on orders from Washington and he was graduated without commission.

The evidence will show that Mrs. Dilling has always been in favor of a strong national defense; that she encouraged her son to enter the R. O. T. C. and while he was attending New Trier High School she fought unsuccessfully to have an R. O. T. C. unit installed there so that her son might join it; that she opposed Communist attempts to prevent extension of the R. O. T. C. to additional Chicago high schools and remove it from those in which it was already established, appearing with documents supporting her position at the special hearing to consider the matter called by the Chicago Board of Education; that she aided in the defeat of that strong, organized Communist effort to sabotage the R. O. T. C.

WORLD TRAVEL

Prosecutor Rogge referred to Mrs. Dilling traveling in Germany as though this were a crime. The evidence will show that Mrs. Dilling is known as a world traveler and that a very small part of her travels have been in Germany. On our 1923 trip abroad we traveled extensively in France, Italy, Genoa, Naples, Florence, Italian Lake District, and Rome, and while in Rome had an audience with the Pope; in Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and England, having crossed on the English ship, the *Berengaria*, and returning on the British ship *Regina* via the Thousand Islands, Montreal, Quebec, and so forth.

Our daughter, Elizabeth Jane, having been born in the interim, on our next European trip in 1928 she, being then 3 years old, also went along. We crossed to England on the British White Star liner, the *Olympic*, spent some time sightseeing around London, traveled down through France and into Italy where we embarked from Naples for Algiers in north Africa. We spent 10 days traveling across Algiers and Tunisia by private auto provided by the Transatlantique or French Line Co. which also owned the French hotels at which we stopped. We sailed from Tunis for Naples on a small French ship and embarked at Naples for Palestine on the British liner *Samaria*, stopping enroute at Athens, Greece. Landing at Haifa we pro-

ceeded to Jerusalem where we spent about a week sightseeing and attended the Christmas midnight service at the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, staying at a monastery with other pilgrims. On Christmas Day the four of us rode around the walls of old Jerusalem on donkeys. We then went to Egypt visiting Cairo, the pyramids, Luxor on the Nile where King Tut's and other tombs were visited. We embarked from Alexandria for Sicily, traveling up through Italy and France and spending considerable time in Paris before returning to the United States on the French liner *Ile de France*. Numerous trips to Cuba, Florida, and so forth, were made by the family.

In 1931, all four of us took a West Indies cruise on the Holland America liner *Volendam*, visiting Cuba and various cities on it, Martinique, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, Dutch Curacao, British Bermuda, Barbadoes, Trinidad, Panama, Caracas, Venezuela, etc. The following summer, 1931, all four of us took a North Cape cruise on the German Hamburg Amerika liner *Reliance* which included Iceland, Spitzbergen, the North Cape, and tours into the fjords of Norway all the way down its coast. We visited Leningrad and Moscow, Russia, Helsingfors, Finland, Stockholm, Sweden, Hamburg and Berlin, Germany, at which time there was street fighting going on in Berlin between Nazis and Communists. We then spent considerable time in Paris before sailing for home.

In 1932 all four of us sailed from San Francisco on the American Dollar Line ship *Hoover*, visiting Hawaii, Japan, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, China, the Philippines, Celebes, Bali, Java, Singapore, and back to the United States again via three Dutch liners, a Japanese and an American ship, visiting China and Japan again en route to British Columbia and the United States.

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In February 1934, while Mrs. Dilling's "Red Network" was on the press, she and I sailed from New Orleans on a United Fruit line boat for Vera Cruz, Mexico, and spent a week or more sightseeing around Mexico City.

The summer of 1934, with the objective of seeing the world famous Passion Play on the life of Christ, at Oberammergau, which was having a special presentation, we sailed, all four of us, on the German liner *Bremen*, landing in England. We left there later to spend considerable time in Paris then through Italy into Germany where we excursioned down the Rhine, saw the Passion Play, then visited Austria, Holland, Switzerland, returned to France and sailed for home on the German ship *Europa*.

In 1937, when I could not leave because of urgent business, Mrs. Dilling took the two children on a West Indies, North Africa, Mediterranean cruise on the French ship *Champlain*, stopping at some of the Balearic and Canary islands, Algiers, Dakar, Casablanca, Morocco, in north Africa; they traveled up through France from Marseilles to Lourdes, and Carcassone, to Paris where Mrs. Dilling sent our son home to get back to school, while she and our daughter spent some time visiting in England and went over to Germany from there and back on a hurried trip, spending 2 days in Germany out of curiosity to find out whether or not they were starving as the press was then reporting, before sailing for home on the French liner *Normandie*, from England.

In the summer of 1938, when the Civil War was raging in Spain and Communist batallions were being sent from the United States and other countries to aid the Red coalition of Communists, Socialists, and Anarchists which formed the backbone of the Loyalist regime, Mrs. Dilling went alone to see first-hand what was happening there.

She sailed on an Italian liner for Lisbon, Portugal, carrying press credentials.

SHE FOUGHT REMOVAL

Mr. President, I shall not continue further reading from the opening address of Mrs. Dillings' attorney. If anyone is interested, he can secure a copy of it for himself. The opening address does show, however, that the lady in question has traveled far more widely than has the average man or woman in the United States; it shows that she has a background which she has used in giving her talks; and, certainly, if she has done anything that is criminal, as 1 of the 29 defendants, certainly I believe she ought to be tried in her own State of Illinois by a jury of her peers.

ON CONSTITUTIONAL GROUNDS

Yet when she was arrested, when she fought extradition, when her attorney in Chicago, Mr. Stewart, made a plea to have her retained in Chicago so that she could be tried by the United States Government there, she was ordered by the court to be tried in the city of Washington. I submit that her case is typical of the cases of the other 29 defendants. In view of what has been said in the Pathfinder and of what has been said by Eugene Meyer in the Washington Post in 2 editorials upon two different occasions, I submit the Attorney General would be doing a service to his country in the administration of square justice by going into the courtroom and asking the court to dismiss these sedition cases. I pray that he may do so soon.

The Christian Friends of Korea

416 COLUMBIAN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DR. PAUL F. DOUGLASS,
PRESIDENT
DR. O. R. AVISON,
SECRETARY-TREASURER

November 29, 1944

Dear Friends:

We are happy to announce that the new book, KOREA: FORGOTTEN NATION, by Dr. Robert T. Oliver is now available. The book has approximately 150 pages, is paper-bound and costs \$1.50.

The following is a quotation from a letter written by Dr. O. R. Avison to the Christian Friends of Korea:

".....It is a real pleasure to me to testify to Dr. Oliver's clear understanding of the important part Korea, as an independent nation, will be able to play when she is again free to carry out her part in the development of East Asia.

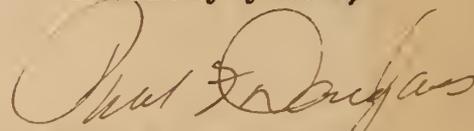
I read the book at one sitting because I grew more and more interested in its contents as I wondered at the clear and accurate account its writer had given in covering the long history of Korea in so few pages.

I hope this book may have the wide circulation it deserves."

We urge you to send us your order before the Christmas rush.

In our last letter we enclosed your membership card for 1944. We appeal to you, friends of Korea -- extend your sympathetic support in the cause of Korea by sending in your dues as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,



Paul F. Douglass

PD:gf

THE CHRISTIAN FRIENDS OF KOREA

416 Columbian Building
Washington, 1, D. C.

March 16, 1944

Dear Friend:

I was very happy to attend the Korean Conference in Ashland, Ohio, on the 20th and 21st of January of this year. It was a very unusual affair. Ashland is a typical mid-western town of only medium size but thoroughly alive and as busy as a town can be. But its interests are not confined to the locality, important as these are. It boasts the possession of the largest factory for the making of pumps in the world. Now pumps are made to lift things and this is characteristic of its people. When they heard about Korea and its hope of speedy delivery from the grip of Japan it demonstrated the breadth of its sympathy by demanding that something be done about it. A Committee of its leading citizens sent out an invitation to all the friends of Korea throughout the country to come there and talk the matter over and devise means whereby information about this comparatively small but immensely important people, which might well be called the Switzerland of the Far East, could be disseminated throughout the United States.

The invitation was accepted and the leading exponents of the hopes and needs of Korea came from Washington, New York, New England, Chicago, Los Angeles, Montana and many other sections and were given a welcome which was unanimous and heart-warming.

The Churches of the town were especially cordial, for they saw in Korea the most astonishing development of Christian civilization that modern times can show. One of the delegates to this Conference was present at the baptism of the first Christian convert in Korea in 1887 and witnessed the growth of that Church from one to half a million, the establishment of three hundred and fifty Christian schools, the training of a thousand Christian physicians and nurses, and the development of a powerful influence which bade fair to transform a nation.

Therefore, it should be the ambition of the Christian Churches of America to see that Korea shall become the radiating center of Christian civilization through the Far East. With this in view, the Christian Friends of Korea stands for a free and independent Korea.

The enclosed congressional reprint contains the broadcast of the Conference. From it you will gather the importance of extending help to the Koreans. How can you help? If you are already a member of this association, ask for literature that you can place in the hands of neighbors and friends. If your name is not included in this organization, please send your name and address and become a member. Your money contribution of whatever you may wish will push this work all the faster.

Very sincerely,

Homer B. Hulbert

Encl.
HH:f;11

F

FORGOTTEN ALLY

United Nations' leaders recognize the importance of supporting guerrilla and underground movements in Europe. In France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Norway and all other conquered countries, the hidden enemies of the Axis are given as much help as possible and are constantly encouraged to continue sabotage and resistance against the common enemy. When invasion of the continent is launched, these groups are expected to play important roles in helping to defeat Hitler's armies.

But on the other side of the world, the United Nations are overlooking a guerrilla army of millions, a potent force living within the enemy's territory, ready and able to strike at Japanese communications to Manchukuo and to occupied China. We're overlooking Korea.

To many, Korea--or Chosen, as the Japanese named it--has been a part of Japan for so long that they have come to accept it as Japanese territory. That is not the case. Korea was the first victim of Japanese aggression and expansion, 27 years before the first shots were fired in China in 1932. But 38 years of Japanese oppression have not been able to crush Korea's desire for independence and freedom.

KOREA'S GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE IN CHUNGKING IS NOT MAKING EXCESSIVE DEMANDS NOW. KOREA ASKS ADMITTANCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, MILITARY SUPPLIES AND AID UNDER LEASE-LEND AND RECOGNITION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

Underlying these requests are the unspoken questions: What is to be the fate of the little nations? Will the principles of the Atlantic Charter apply to the Pacific, too?

The U. S. state department has refused recognition on the grounds that the provisional government, established 24 years ago, does not truly represent the majority of Koreans and that Koreans themselves are divided politically.

The state department's objections do not, as we see it, recognize the fact that the provisional government is the only voice with which Koreans can speak, that it does have the support of major leaders within and outside of Korea, and that it is already recognized de facto by China.

The Koreans are united in their demand for liberty from aggression. They have been fighting for freedom since 1905. Koreans can settle their disagreements as to the government and leaders they shall have after they have won independence.

The United Nations are overlooking a valuable ally in ignoring Korea. Moreover they are missing a chance to strengthen Allied prestige in the Orient by assuring the smaller nations of the right of self-determination.

Handwritten Korean text, likely a translation or commentary on the editorial.

Handwritten Korean text, possibly a signature or name.

Handwritten Korean text, possibly a signature or name.

Nov. 29, 1943

Young Man
636 177th St
Akron 10, Ohio

ARTICLE REPRINTED FROM WASHINGTON POST DEC. 12, 1946
JAPANESE FACING NEW PERIL FROM AROUSED KOREAN UNDERGROUND
BY ROBERT T. OLIVER

ONE result of the Cairo Conference was to align a native Asiatic population solidly with the United Nations. This was accomplished by the Roosevelt-Churchill-Chiang-Kai-shek announcement that "in due course" Korea should be restored to complete independence.

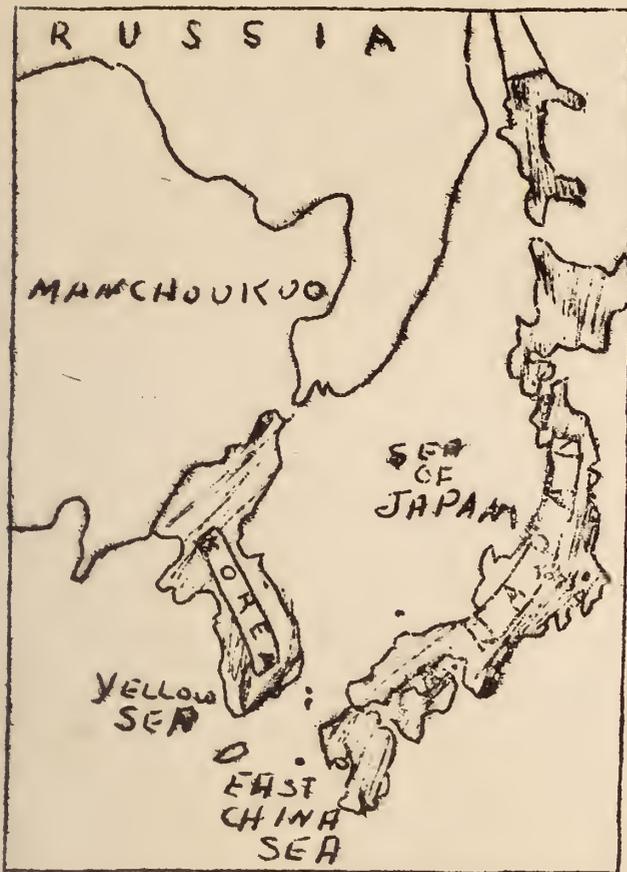
That announcement proves that the Atlantic Charter applies to Asia as well as Europe--and it reveals a sincerity of purpose to make small nations free, which has previously been veiled by the general nature of that document.

It accomplishes as nothing else could a fighting alliance with a native population under Japanese dominance--the first hopeful augury in a gloomy succession of colonial peoples yielding without a struggle to Japan.

IT BRINGS DE FACTO RECOGNITION AFTER 25 YEARS TO THE OLDEST GOVERNMENT² IN EXILE IN EXISTENCE--THE KOREAN PROVISIONAL REPUBLIC.

It demonstrates to every other genuinely patriotic underground movement in the world that in loyalty and sacrifice and devotion there is hope--however slow may be the friendly acknowledgment of the Great Powers.

It assures Japan as nothing else in our power at the moment could do that we mean to wage a fight to the bitter end, when this country, which was freely granted to Japan in 1905 by one Roosevelt, is promised its independence by another.



ASSURED THAT KOREANS WILL FIGHT

Still there remain some questions that are bothering commentators though the answers ought to be fairly clear. "WHAT," MANY ARE ASKING, "IS THE MEANING OF THE PHRASE, IN DUE COURSE? IS IT A HEDGE AGAINST THE PROMISE OF FREEDOM?"

The obvious answer is that the Great Powers have no basis for granting independence to Korea until the Japanese have been driven out. To pretend to do so previously would be an empty mockery.

"WHY," OTHERS ARE SAYING, "SHOULD KOREANS BE GIVEN THEIR INDEPENDENCE? DON'T SUBJECT PEOPLES HAVE TO EARN FREEDOM BY JOINING IN THE FIGHT FOR IT?"

To this question are many answers. Koreans have fought, will fight, and are fighting. Within 24 hours of the Doolittle raid on Tokyo, a band of 14 Koreans lost their lives blowing up Japanese oil tanks near Chemulpo Bay, "OF WHAT VALUE," OTHERS INQUIRE, "CAN KOREA POSSIBLY BE TO US?"

The Korean peninsula is the chief Japanese entry-way to the mainland of Asia. It is as necessary to them as Pearl Harbor is to us. It is their main supply route to China and Manchuria, and their chief continental base of supplies. It is a military asset they have been developing assiduously ever since 1910.

And it is a supply route through a hostile nation of 25 million people! A people forced by a full generation of oppression to Japanize their dress, customs, and language--but whose hearts are as bitterly anti-Japanese as hatred can make them.

FEARED BY JAPANESE EVEN IN 1937

Here is the great irony to Japan of the Korean situation. This people has been rendered by Japan an enemy that is implacable and at the same time so similar externally to their conquerors that they all but defy detection when they choose to impersonate Japanese. Better saboteurs, guerillas, or spies would be impossible to find.

And they have already proved their worth.

When Matsuoka, the Japanese statesman who negotiated the Russo-Japanese "treaty of friendship," was passing through the United States in 1937, he was asked if he did not fear Chinese assassins. "No," he replied, "the Koreans are the ones we fear."

And he had reason. The pre-Pearl Harbor Ambassador from Japan to the United States, Admiral Nomura, had lost an eye to a Korean terrorist. He was lucky--many high Japanese officials have lost their lives in similar attacks.

In 1937, the last year for which reliable information is available, Japanese authorities listed 3600 authenticated instances of sabotage and guerilla activities in Korea. That is 100 attacks by Koreans on their oppressors every day! And it goes on year after year.

TARGETS FOR ATTACK IN KOREA

Korean patriots and the United Nations high command know what the chief military objectives in Korea are. In the southwest corner, bordering on China, is the largest hydroelectric power plant anywhere in the world outside the United States. It is well guarded, of course, but not impenetrable by determined saboteurs who can readily disguise themselves as loyal Japanese.

The single military railway that bears the Japanese soldiers and supplies up the peninsula runs along a mountain range that makes it very vulnerable to well-planned attack.

THERE ARE 20 TUNNELS ALONG ITS LENGTH, INNUMERABLE TRESTLES, AND MANY OVERHANGING CLIFFS WHERE DESTRUCTIVE AV'LANCHES MAY BE LAUNCHED.

There are munition dumps, oil refineries, and communication lines. And there is above all the strategic value of a route the Japanese must traverse to supply their armies in China, or--if it comes to that --to attack Vladivostok.

To get the full value from potential Korean assistance the United Nations military command has two major problems:

The first is to get guns, munitions, bombs, and other supplies to the Koreans. So clean have the Japanese swept the peninsula of weapons that they have only allowed one kitchen knife to every three families. The Korean Provisional Republic has promised that if supplies are made available to it in China, they will be taken into Korea. The well-organized underground will see to that.

THE SECOND PROBLEM IS TO TIME THE KOREAN OUTBREAKS TO INSURE THE MAXIMUM EFFECT.

A premature uprising would lead simply to enormous bloodshed without military value sufficient to compensate for it. Just as in Europe, the emphasis must be upon getting the underground ready, then holding it in check till the moment is right to strike.

These are the tasks now confronting the Korean Commission in Washington, headed by Dr. Snygman Rhce. First, to see that the Cairo declaration is followed as soon as practical by Lend-Lease aid, Second, to integrate the activities of the guerillas with plans of the United Nations High command.

PROPHECY OR FACT ABOUT KOREA

If these two steps can be accomplished, there will be a power in the Korean nation that will make it once again "a dagger pointed at the heart of Japan." And as United Nations ships and troops close in on the Nipponese Kingdom for the final blows against its front door, that Korean dagger poised for a blow in the rear holds promise of bringing victory quicker and with less loss of life!

Such considerations doubtless played their part in motivating the announcement from Cairo that Korea is to be freed. It is a pronouncement that will stir the Korean people to their depths.

During its January, 1942, session in Chungking, the Legislature of the Korean Provisional Republic resolved "That the dissolution of Japan's conquests on the continent is beginning in Korea." With reports coming in of 100,000 Korean guerillas roaming the countains that the prophecy is founded on fact. FINIS

ARTICLE REPRINTED FROM BEACON JOURNAL DEC. 6, 1943.

INDEPENDENCE FOR KOREA.

Editor Beacon Journal:

I thank you very much for your editorial of Nov. 26 captioned "Forgotten Ally". I know every Korean will feel the same way as I do when I say we appreciate whole-heartedly your sympathetic understanding concerning Korea's vital position in this war against our arch-enemy, Japan.

Korea wants absolute independence after this war. We want to have freedom to choose our own government and leaders without any outside interference no matter how wonderful their benevolent intentions may be. All we want is to live peacefully as we did before. Koreans do not want to be governed by any nation or group of nations. Korea is entirely different from the Philippine islands which never had independence. Korea has over 4,200 years of written history and it maintained self-government until 1905.

I pray that the United Nations will fulfill their promises--Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms--not only in Europe but also in the Far East including India, Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Java.

Thank you again, editors of the Beacon Journal.

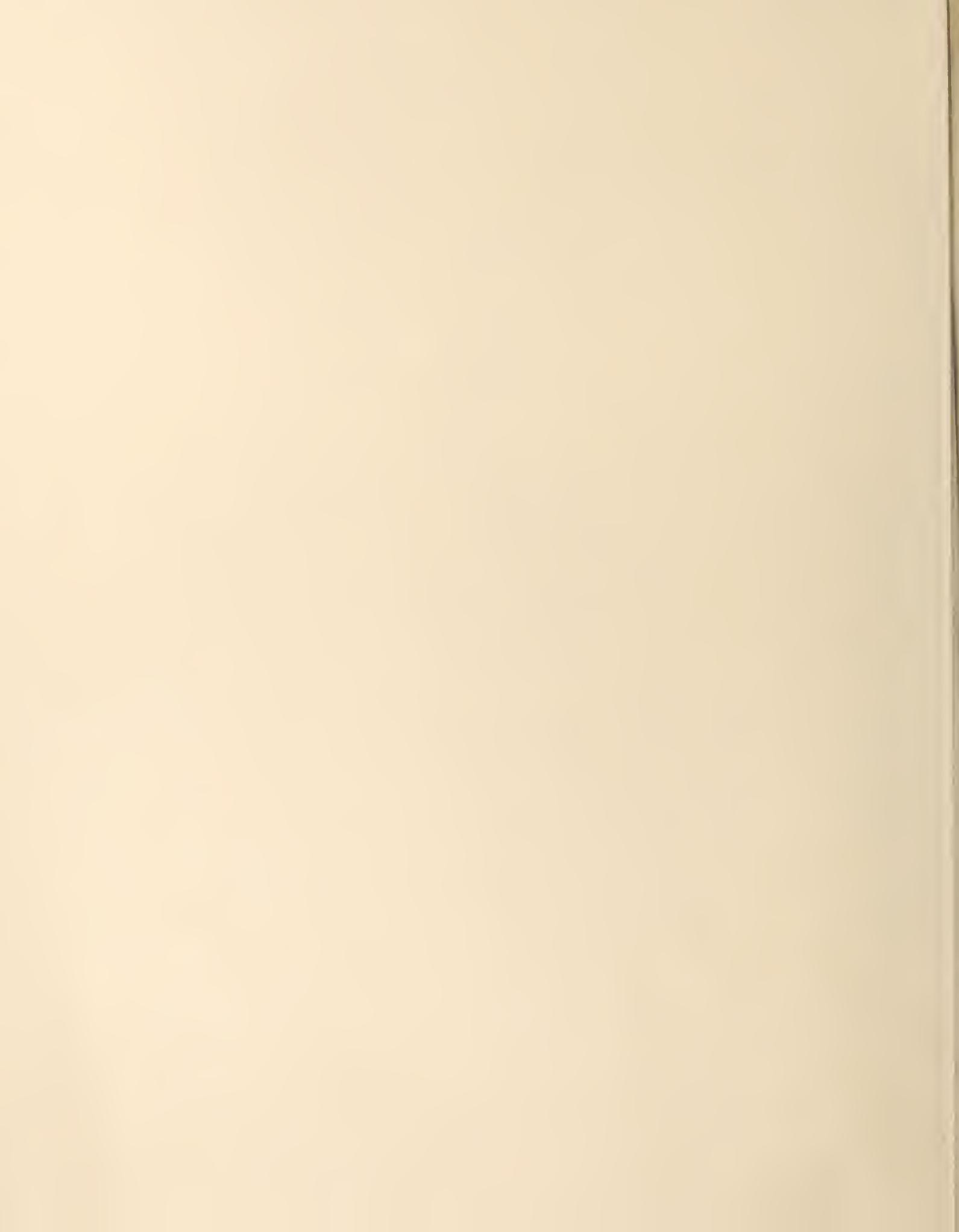
YOUNG HAN CHOO.

(FULL TEXT OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN RICHARD HARKNESS N B C NEWS AN'LYSIST IN WASHINGTON, D. C. AND DR SNYGMAN RHEE FIRST PRESIDENT OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF KOREA. AT PRESENT, CHAIRMAN OF KOREAN COMMISSION OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN CHUNGKING. BROADCAST ON DEC. 3 OVER W M A L AT 11:15 P M IN WASHINGTON, D. C.--EDITOR)

RICHARD HARKNESS ---DR. SYNGMAN RHEE

- RHEE: MR. HARKNESS, FIRST MAY I EXPRESS MY DEEP GRATITUDE TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-shck AND PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL FOR THE DECLARATION MADE AT THE CAIRO CONFERENCE, PLEDGING THE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF KOREA. MY COUNTRY, KOREA, WAS THE FIRST VICTIM OF THE JAPANESE TREACHERY IN THEIR MARCH OF CONQUEST. AFTER AN INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF MORE THAN FOUR THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED YEARS, WE WERE FORCED INTO THE WORST TYPE OF SLAVERY THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. THAT WAS IN 1905. A NATION ~~OF~~ THEN OF NEARLY TWENTY MILLION PEOPLE WAS PRACTICALLY WIPE OFF THE FACE OF THE EARTH.
- HARKNESS: YOU WITNESSED THE JAPANESE TAKING OVER YOUR COUNTRY THEN, DID YOU NOT, DR. RHEE?
- RHEE: INDEED I DID, MR. HARKNESS. THE GESTAPO OF MODERN GERMANY HAS NOTHING ON THE SPY SYSTEM THE JAPS ESTABLISHED IN KOREA. LONG BEFORE NAZI-ISM AROSE IN EUROPE, THE JAPANESE CAME INTO KOREA WITH THEIR SOLDIERS, GENDARMES AND POLICE LIKE SWARMS OF LOCUSTS. THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM HORDES OF S'NYUNGKAI--WHICH IS THE KOREAN WORD FOR HUNTING DOG--OR IN ANOTHER WORD, JAPANESE SPIES. THEY DESTROYED OUR ANCIENT CULTURE. THEY ABOLISHED OUR NEWSPAPERS. THEY IMPOSED THEIR LANGUAGE UPON US. THEY FORCED US TO TAKE JAPANESE NAMES. THEY DROVE US OUT OF OUR HOMES. THEY ROBBED US OF OUR LANDS. THEY RULED US-- A PROUD AND PEACE-LOVING PEOPLE--WITH SWORD AND WHIP. THEY CORRUPTED OUR MANHOOD WITH DRUGS AND VICE. THEY HAVE REDUCED US TO POVERTY AND SQUALOR AND STARVATION. THROUGH A LONG PROCESS OF PERSECUTION THEY HAVE BEEN TRYING TO STAMP OUT CHRISTIANITY BY FORCING ALL THE CHURCH MEMBERS TO BOW IN THE SHRINE WORSHIP. HUNDREDS OF CHRISTIAN MARTYRS WHO REFUSED TO BOW BEFORE THE IMAGE OF THE MIKADO ARE TODAY LANGUISHING IN DUNGEONS, SOME OF THEM ARE DYING FROM TORTURE AND STARVATION. AS A RESULT OF THE 38 YEARS REIGN OF TERROR AND HORROR, THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN COMPLETELY BLACKING OUT MY COUNTRY. YET THEY HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED IN ONE THING--TO KILL THE FLAME OF FREEDOM BURNING IN THE HEARTS OF THE 30 MILLION LIBERTY-LOVING KOREANS.
- HARKNESS: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE CAIRO CONFERENCE ARE PLAIN THEN--IN WHAT THEY HOLD IN STORE FOR KOREA? WHAT DO YOU SEE AS A SPECIFIC RESULT OF THIS PROMISE OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO FREE YOUR COUNTRY?
- RHEE: THE JAPANESE TURNED KOREA INTO A LAND OF SILENCE AND FEAR, BUT THE KOREANS ARE NOT AFRAID TO DIE WHEN THEY SEE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DIE FOR FREEDOM. WE ARE READY TO FIGHT-- FIGHT FOR OURSELVES AND FOR THE UNITED NATIONS. WE WANT WEAPONS. WE HAVE UNDERGROUND CHANNELS IN KOREA THROUGH THE JAPANESE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THERE ARE TWO MILLION KOREANS IN CHINA. WITH GUNS AND BAYONETS WE CAN USE THIS MANPOWER. WITH BOMBS AND DYNAMITE WE CAN BLOW UP JAPANESE TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION LINES AND STORES OF MUNITIONS. WE OFFER OUR MANPOWER. THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD GIVE US THE MATERIAL AID WE NEED. I BELIEVE THE ALLIED NATIONS SHOULD HELP US SO THAT WE CAN HELP THEM. THAT WILL BE THE SPECIFIC RESULT OF THE CAIRO CONFERENCE.
- HARKNESS: DO YOU THINK, NOW, THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE ADMITTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS?
- RHEE: MR. HARKNESS, CAIRO IS VERY NEAR THE DESERT..... IF THREE GOOD SAMARITANS MEET A STRANGER IN THE DESERT, WILL THEY DENY HIM A DRINK OF WATER?.....

경축 주류영탄 공하신년 - 류영한



Truro Missionary Tells of Life in Korea Under Japanese Occupation

By Louise H. McCully

Special To The Truro News

Having been in Korea in 1910, the year in which the Japanese took over the government of the land so long known as the Hermit Nation, one's thoughts go back to that land and its people who for over thirty years have been a subject nation. For some twenty-five years the missionaries had been in Korea and had gained many converts to the Christian religion and won many friends among a people whose hearts once touched, responded wonderfully to those who had brought them this enlightenment. One recalls the Sunday morning when the missionary in charge of the service in the church of the city of Hamheung was asked by Japanese officials to use his good offices to keep down any signs of uprising or opposition that might follow the announcement that Korea had become a part of the Japanese Empire. However, there was no apparent opposition, possibly because they did not all realize what had happened and certainly could not foresee what the future was to bring. For from the first it became evident that the new rule was to be one of force and any who did not submit would find themselves crushed into subservience to the new regime.

Suspicious Of Christians

An incident in this same city of Hamheung comes to mind as one reviews the experiences of the past. An old man who with his family of three sons all married and living in the one compound had become Christian and were regular attendants at church services. Shortly after the Japanese came into his city, where previously none of their nationality had resided, they began to look with suspicion on the Christians and, as later developments showed were jealous of the influences gained by the missionaries who were living there and who even then they suspected of being spies employed by their government. The old man referred to died and as Oriental custom calls for demonstration at a funeral, and the church had just provided themselves with a highly decorated bier, the Christians of the city turned out in a body and a large procession followed the bier carried by many coolies to the cemetery, walking through a considerable portion of the city. This was on a Saturday and on Sunday, as we went to church, we saw quite a disturbance at his home which was near the church. Evidently the Japanese felt they must do something to show their authority and counteract the Christian influence that had called forth such a display as was seen at the funeral. On enquiry we found that police had gone early Sunday to this home where the small mud houses were enclosed with a mud wall, and where they had a small store which was known to us as the "candy house", meaning the old-fashioned sweets made by Koreans and not our ideas of candy. The police demanded that they vacate a corner of their small lot in order to give room for the erection of a police box. When the poor inmates saw that force would be used to compel them to obey they yielded meekly, and, instead of attending church service spent the morning waiting on those who had come to rule over them.

Church Sealed Up

Another event that one recalls is a visit to a country village where we saw a small church sealed up and learned that all the men of the village had been taken to prison. As imprisonment with the Japanese never calls for an explanation as to the cause, the poor women left in the homes were in a state of bewilderment and only knew that for some reason, the fact that they were Christians was the cause so the church was closed and service suspended. It may be of interest to say that we saw the church opened and held a meeting with the few who dared to come and we hoped our visit brought them some cheer and hope.

One other remarkable fact was that early in the same year of annexation 1910, a great evangelistic campaign was carried on in Korea with the cry "a million souls for Jesus." Evangelists Chagman and Alexander had been in Korea and they had written a hymn with this as the theme, and all over the land wonderful meetings were held when the churches were crowded and thousands signified their desire to become Christians. We have been told that this was considered by the Japanese to be a political movement camouflaged under the guise of Christianity, and they set themselves to overcome it by threatening those who had been thus influenced and in many cases the converts had not gone far enough to stand against the persecution.

For nine years the Koreans submitted more or less meekly to this iron rule and, looking on, we wondered at their endurance. But the year 1919 showed that the submission was only on the exterior and when the great uprising for independence came following the conclusion of the first Great War, and the thought of the freedom to be granted to subject nations was given to them, the Koreans rose up in a body - men, women, school boys and school girls - and staged a great demonstration all over the land. They astonished us with their zeal and courage and willingness to suffer and even to die, if necessary, for the independence of their country.

Bloodless Revolution

It was a unique plan instigated largely by Koreans abroad and known as a bloodless revolution. It was carried on by demonstrations where crowds marched through the streets of the cities and towns shouting the cry "Independence forever" (in Korean Tong-nip ManSei). They carried mimeographed sheets of the Declaration of Independence, which seemed as if that might have emanated from America, and these were strewn or handed out as they marched. In the city of Wonsan we saw the crowd as they marched through the Korean part of the city after gathering at the large market square where orations were given by the leaders. Two of these who were members of the Presbyterian church, riding in jinrickshas led the crowd up to the police headquarters where they went in and presented a copy of the Declaration. This was so unexpected to the officials that they were not prepared to cope with it further than to arrest the leaders who had counted the cost and gave themselves up without any resistance. The next day, which was Sunday, the police went to the two churches, Presbyterian and Methodist, in the city and called out the names they had gathered of those who had taken an active part in this uprising and took them all to prison. This continued for many days all over Korea until the prisons were overcrowded and temporary shelter had to be made. Hundred of Christians were imprisoned and although church services were continued, the other activities of the missionaries were largely curtailed. Korean teachers were in rebellion against the rule to which they had been subjected by Japanese police, school children refused to attend so that Mission schools all over the country were suspended. This quite disturbed the authorities, but they found the people were obdurate and they seemed to realize that there must be some relaxation of their severe ruling.

Attitude Favorable

One outstanding gesture was to recall the Governor General and replace him by one whose rule was much more moderate. This was Viscount Saito whose attitude to the missionaries and the Christians was quite favorable, which may be accounted for by the fact that his wife had received her education in the Canadian Mission School in Tokyo where Miss Isabel Blackmore of Truro was Principal. On the occasion of her visit to Korea she was entertained at the Government House at a luncheon given in her honor.

Viscount Saito was recalled later on and his place taken by one and another not so favorable to the foreign element and the missionaries. The present Governor General Minami has been quite decided in his attitude and his rule has been more hostile in the way of enforcing conformity to the Imperial rule and Emperor worship known as Shintoism. His complaint against missionaries, as we heard it, was that they were not using their influence in helping the Government to make the Korean Christians good citizens of the Japanese Empire, and, it was therefore necessary to counteract that influence and endeavor to get the Koreans from under it. The effort to force Shintoism upon them took a peculiar form which we feel cannot be well understood by the Westerner. The Government in Japan made an official announcement that Shintoism had been divided into two sections, one religious and the other national. After this had been declared the Koreans were told that when they were called to any ceremony at the shrine they were to understand that it was not as a religious act but an acknowledgment of their Japanese citizenship.

Jap Shrine

It may be well here to explain that a shrine is not a place of idol worship but one where spirits are said to be enshrined by a process that none but Japanese can probably understand. When one sees the place there is nothing but an open courtyard somewhat resembling a park with no sign of worship visible. It makes a pleasant walk and gives a good view as it is always on an elevation. When the Christians were called to attend these they simply were required to assemble on the open space led by one of the police force, and after standing at attention, the call was given to turn to the east and make their bow to the Emperor. That ended the ceremony and if any act resembling worship was carried on it was behind the scenes and the Christians had no part in it. One felt they should be credited, enforced though it was, with submission and willingness to acknowledge the citizenship which had become more and more galling. At first this shrine attendance was only required of students in the schools which had been gradually completely controlled by the police until at last the Korean language was ruled out and only the Japanese language allowed to be taught. Since the Koreans acquire the language rather readily it was still possible to retain Christian Korean teachers in Mission schools. As the Japanese rule became more rigid all Koreans were required to go to the shrine when ordered and that made a very sad time in the church where there was considerable divergence of opinion as to whether a Christian could comply with this order without compromising or hurting their Christian testimony. However, when it came to the point of yielding or being imprisoned or at least forbidden to preach, teach, or carry on any church activity they consented to obey the order with the clear understanding that this was not a religious act, and was in no way denying their faith as followers of the Lord Jesus. This explanation may help some who have had the impression that Shintoism has replaced Christianity, which is not at all the fact, as church services have been carried on all through this time and we have no reason to believe that they will not still be going on.

Religion of Japan

As Buddhism is really the religion of Japan where temples abound with many images of worship one can think of Shintoism as only a means of developing the national spirit and the recognition of the Emperor's divine ancestry. An educated Korean so described Shintoism saying that the Japanese were trying by means of it to make Koreans good citizens. There was every evidence that they were not succeeding even with the non-Christians.

We come now to the story of why the missionaries left Korea when the church was still prospering and the Christians so friendly and anxious for the help and support of those who had brought them the transforming message of the gospel. "Did the Japanese drive you out?" is a question we have heard many times and the answer has always been, "No." That is not the Japanese way of carrying out their plans, nothing as open and straight-forward as that from the present Japanese officialdom. For some years we had been told that we were regarded as spies paid by our Government and carrying on espionage under the guise of Christianity. However, as the war in China went on and the anti-British and later anti-American feeling developed, we found a very active propaganda was at work to make the Koreans believe that all Westerners were spies. This then spread to include Koreans associated with the missionaries and they in turn were said to be accomplices of their Western friends. The feeling became so strong that a number of our Korean friends were afraid to be known as thus associated and some were even then suffering for that reason, and we in turn feared for them. In the summer of 1940 the attack on the missionaries became much more open and drastic.

Bishop Imprisoned

An Anglican Bishop from England and some of his clergy were imprisoned on charges trumped up for the accusations, the Salvation Army Commissioner and others of their mission were subjected to severe questioning and all their papers and letters searched. Both of these having headquarters in London to which they reported regularly were supposed to be sending reports of their espionage to England, now Japan's enemy. Anti-British uprisings were attempted but the response from the Koreans was so feeble that they soon fell through. As the feeling grew more intense and some of us were deciding that our presence in Korea was likely to be more hurtful to our friends than any help we could give, we felt that return to Canada might be wise for we heard by radio that the American Government was calling its nationals to prepare for evacuation. This was soon followed by a cable message from the W. M. S. Board in Toronto for women with families to return. So the evacuation began in November 1940 and continued until 1942 when the last part of Canadian repatriates returned. Now all missionaries of all nationality are away from Korea and no communication is possible with Korea.

Our party sailed from Yokohama on Christmas Eve on a Japanese steamer and after a very unpleasant voyage landed in Vancouver one evening of January 1941. What a relief it was to be back in Canada, the land of one's birth, where there is liberty of speech and action and our beloved Sovereign a Christian! What a contrast to the pagan government under which we have lived for 30 years!